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"WHO WROTE ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?"

CONSIDERED AND ANSWERED,

IN TWO LETTERS,

ADDRESSED TO HIS GRACE

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

BY THE REV.

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D.

MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND RECTOR OF BUXTED WITH UCKFIELD, SUSSEX.

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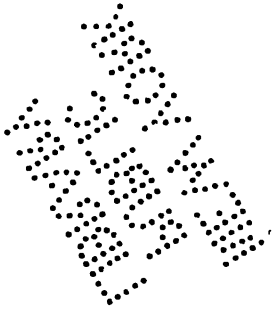

ADVERTISEMENT.

BEFORE the Reader proceeds to the proper business of the present Volume, his attention is requested, for a moment, to another subject.

In the year 1802, the Author published "Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq., respecting his *Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament.*" The Argument of those *Letters* being in his judgment an important one, and the Doctrine with which the Argument is connected being confessedly one of the most solemn concern, it has been the Author's practice, upon occasions of his appearing subsequently before the Public, to revert to that subject, (as he did in the Preface to his *Ecclesiastical Biography* in 1809, and afterwards in 1818), for the purpose of *reporting progress*, and of holding himself to the pledge there given, of "retracting publicly the substance of those *Six Letters*, so soon as he shall have been convinced, either by his own re-

searches, or those of others, that he has advanced a false and untenable argument."

The Author has to request that it may be understood, that what was said upon the two former occasions is still persevered in, and is to be considered as again repeated in this place. Nothing has occurred to induce him to abandon the Argument prosecuted in those *Letters*, or to alter his opinion of its importance. The additional authorities from the writings of the Fathers, which have fallen in his way, since the date of his first publication, (they have not been a great many), are not contradictory to, but in perfect harmony with the numerous testimonies there produced.

Perhaps the Writer may be further indulged with recording here an anecdote of the late Professor Porson.

The Tract, entitled, "Six *more* Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq.," under the assumed name of *Gregory Blunt, Esq.*, and which is adverted to in the above-mentioned Preface to *Ecclesiastical Biography*, was, about the time of its publication, attributed, with considerable industry, by some few individuals, to the Professor. So far was this carried, that at length the Professor, who was then resident in Cambridge,

thought it necessary to assure me privately that the imputation was unfounded. I thanked him for this assurance, but told him, that " to me it was wholly unnecessary. I should have been ashamed of myself indeed, if I could ever have admitted a thought of the possibility of his being the Author of such a Performance." He was evidently pleased with the promptitude of this declaration: and made an observation or two upon the Book, the principal of which was, " Indeed there are not more than two pages in it," (I remember the particular expression, because at the time I thought the judgment somewhat more favourable than the book deserved), " that have any thing to do with the subject." He then added, (which furnishes the chief reason I have for recording the present account), " As for your Volume, I have read it. It is a Book that ought to have been written: and I am glad it is written."

Neither upon that occasion, nor upon any other, did the Professor, in my presence, express any opinion respecting the Grammatical Theory insisted upon by Mr. Sharp, in his " *Remarks*."

Trinity College,
Oct. 31, 1824.

CONTENTS.

LETTER I.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.

Introduction. P. 1—2. *Bishop Gauden's Claim, and Subject proposed.* P. 2—13. *Evidence,* direct, *in Support of that Claim.* (1) *His Own;* (2) *His Wife's;* (3) *Dr. Walker's.* P. 13—34. *Evidence,* indirect; *Silence of the Earl of Clarendon and Others.* P. 34—44. *Sentiments of Charles II. and of the Duke of York.* P. 44—48. *Observations on the Testimony of Mrs. Gauden and of Dr. Walker.* P. 48—52.

Evidence (external) *on the Side of the King.* P. 52—147. *Contemporary, or First Stage of the Controversy.* P. 52—111. *Naseby Copy, Evidences respecting.* P. 69—96. *Second Stage of the Controversy, and Second Series of Testimonies on the Side of the King, arranged chronologically.* P. 111—147.

Bishop Kennett's Theory. P. 147—152. *Value of the Testimony of Dr. Walker and of Mrs. Gauden.* P. 151—165. *Enquiry respecting the Silence of Lord Clarendon further prosecuted.* P. 165—209. *Sentiments of the other Statesmen, and of the Bishops, &c.* P. 209—213. *Sentiments of King Charles II. and of King James II.* P. 213—215. *Recapitulation of the* External, *and appeal to the* Internal *Evidence.* P. 215—221.

LETTER II.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

Subject Proposed. P. 223—224. *Character of the Icón.* P. 224—227. *Character of the King. His Qualifications Moral and Intellectual. Habits of Life, &c.* P. 227—236. *Enquiry into the antecedent probabilities of Gauden being the Author.* P. 256—283. *Examination of the Arguments* from Internal Evidence, *which have been adduced by Dr. Walker, Mrs. Gauden, and Others, that Gauden was, and that the King was not the Author.* P. 283—303. Internal Evidence *that the King was the Author, from a Comparison of the* Icôn (1) *with the King's* Sayings. P. 303—311. (2) *With his* Character, *contrasted with that of Dr. Gauden.* P. 311—329. *And* (3) *with his* Writings. P. 329—361. Internal Evidence *that Gauden was not the Author, from a Comparison of the* Icôn *with* his Writings. P. 361—399. *Further Enquiries into the* Moral Character *of Dr. Gauden.* P. 373—401. *Conclusion.* P. 401—413.

LETTER I.

My Lord,

I am desirous of inviting your Grace's attention to an Enquiry into a point of Literary history, which, much and often as it has been examined, does not appear to have obtained hitherto an entirely satisfactory decision; nor to have lost its interest in the minds of men. I allude to the question, "who wrote ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ?" King Charles the First, the reputed author; or Bishop Gauden?

Had indeed this Enquiry been one merely of literary curiosity, I should not have presumed to introduce to the world my observations respecting it, in connexion with your Grace's venerated name. But the case is far otherwise. Besides the value and beauty of the book, as one of religious exercise, our subject in all its details is combined with matters of considerable and permanent moral and political importance. It is intimately interwoven with a portion of English history, which must ever be exceedingly interesting to the divine, the philosopher, and the statesman. We shall find deeply involved in our

enquiry, the characters, on one side, of a prelate, gifted by nature with eminent abilities, and of very considerable learning: and on the other, not only of a Monarch whose memory the Church of England holds sacred; but also of more than one of your Grace's distinguished predecessors, and of many contemporary Divines, Bishops and Statesmen, some among them being of the most illustrious which this country has ever produced; men, in whose blameless integrity the honor of our nation, and of religion, is concerned. And, when I add, that there is reason to believe that the infidel Toland hoped, under cover of this argument, to inflict an indirect and secret wound upon Christianity itself,—I am warranted in saying, from all these considerations, that the proposed investigation is one of no trifling concern.

In the year 1821, the Reverend Henry John Todd, to whose successful researches in several departments of literature we are largely indebted, and who, not long before, had been manuscript librarian to your Grace, published from the library at Lambeth, in his valuable *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Bishop Walton*, four letters to the Earl of Bristol from Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter[1]. In these letters Gauden, urging that nobleman to exert his powerful influence with the King, that he might obtain a richer preferment, than he feared Exeter would be, pleads in strong language his services to the Church and Royal Family, as justifying his own expectations,

[1] See Vol. I. p. 138-147.

and the hoped-for interposition of the Earl in his behalf. These alleged services, we are to observe also, were, he insisted, not merely of an *ordinary* kind, such as might be looked-for from a Clergyman, in the discharge of his official duties, or of any literary exertions, undertaken *professionally*. They respected an important *secret*, which, we are to understand, had come to the Earl's knowledge, not by Gauden's means, but from some other quarter; probably, as Gauden conjectures, from the King, or the Duke of York. This *secret* service he speaks of as the "great *arcanum*." "I cannot but be confident" (says he) "that his Majesty will do what is worthy of *His Father's* glory, and His own greatness:" and adds, "This I am sure, whatever the *reward* be, no man can rob me of *the honor of the work*." In another of these letters, he calls it "his *most signal service;* of which his Majesty, and his Highness were conscious:" adding, that indeed "he could not prudently expect upon *that account only*, any *extraordinary* instance of his Majesty's favor, without putting the world upon *a dangerous curiosity*, if in *other* respects he had been unconspicuous." But, *this* he proceeds to shew was not the case. "Therefore," (says he) "both his Majesty's and your Lordship's *extraordinary* favor may, without any solecism of state, be grounded on the *public* services I have done; *besides that private one*, which is consecrated to the highest merit, reputation, and honor in the world; as the *urn of royal ashes*, and the *embalming of a martyred King*." Again: "This I am sure; whoever hath

the *Tulit alter honores,* I may challenge, *Hos ego versiculos feci*; and the world thought them heroic, *worthy of Augustus.*" And, in the last of the four letters, he perseveres to the same purport: "Certainly, my Lord, since *I have done one work* of some importance, which hath the proportions of a coat not *petit* and narrow, I shall not easily shrink to any thing that is mean and vulgar."—All these are only a part of the passages which might be cited. But, he who reads merely these, perhaps will not be much surprised, that Mr. Todd should deem himself justified in producing the letters, as "illustrative of Gauden's claim to the composition of those celebrated meditations of Charles the First, entitled ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ." Perhaps many will think, that he does not go a step too far, when he intimates his opinion, that Gauden's claim can now no longer be "*pretended* to be *abundantly disproved,* by *external* and *internal evidence:*" and, that such pretence must henceforward be for ever "extinguished," inasmuch as "the information now imparted to the public, in these letters, *at once decides the controversy:*" or, as it is expressed in the *Index,* "*Gauden, certainly the author of the* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, or the Meditations frequently ascribed to King Charles the First."

As I have hinted, we may be well assured, my Lord, that Mr. Todd will not be singular in this judgment.

Very shortly after its publication, his work was hailed as putting an end for ever to a gross and inveterate imposture:

"This is not the only Tory attempt to falsify English history, which has been detected during the present year. The once famous controversy concerning the author of ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ is at length decided. It had been disputed for a century and a half, whether that book was the genuine work of Charles the First, whose name it bears, or the composition of Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, which, by a pious fraud, he ascribed to that Monarch, in order to increase its effects on the public feelings . . . . . That it was, however, the composition of Gauden, *is now certain,* from some of his letters to the Earl of Bristol, preserved in the Archiepiscopal library at Lambeth [2]." The gentleman who first imparted the tidings of these letters to your Grace's predecessor, Archbishop Tenison, entertained, it cannot be doubted, a similar judgment respecting them. "Not" (says he in a private letter to the Archbishop still extant among your Grace's manuscripts), "Not that this place has no curiosities in it: for, I met with something a day or two since, among old writings, that your Grace would own to be so, if I could let you see it: *and no man living, I think, shall do it besides.* They are some letters relating to a secret history that has been canvassed of late, and *do but too much confirm the Essex Doctor's account* [3]: for which

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. LXXI. p. 17. Oct. 1821.

[3] There can be no doubt but that the Archbishop's Correspondent here alludes to the numerous pamphlets published respecting the Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ about the year 1691, &c. and that "the Essex Doctor's account," is Dr. Anthony Walker's "*True Account of the Author of a Book entituled,* Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, *or, The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings,* proved to be written by Dr. Gauden, late Bishop of Worcester." 4to. 1692.

reason, if this letter of mine comes safe to your hands, I think it should be presently burned. For, as much as I love truth, and hate any imposture, I think the good of detecting some things of that kind, and this in particular, will not outweigh the mischiefs of such a discovery: and it must do it a great deal, to make me accessory to one that would be very invidious. But I will hang no more upon this, for fear of mischance [4]."

He who writes in such a tenor as this, without date of *time* or *place*, and *anonymously*, for the sake of greater secrecy, (as Mr. Trimnell has done), to one who was at once so greatly his superior in rank, and his confidential friend, and recommends that his letter should be burned, shews abundantly both his own estimate of the import of his communication, and that he would have been well pleased that the letters themselves which he had found, should have shared the same fate, and not have survived to substantiate the Essex Doctor's story. It is matter of rejoicing, that the Archbishop judged better what was due to the interests of truth, in an important enquiry, and that your Grace, in a like spirit, has permitted these letters to be made public. This is as it ought to be.

On a prior occasion, many years ago, some information was communicated to the world, not precisely from the documents published by Mr. Todd, but upon the same subject, and of a similar import.

[4] Lambeth MSS. No. 930, p. 172. The letter is endorsed, "M. Trimnell conc. ea. β. 2d. May 17, 1698-9." "May" is written, (by the Archbishop himself, if I remember right,) from a slip of the pen, for "*March*."

Some answer, therefore, was to be found. In *that* instance, it was alleged in reply, by the friends to the pretensions of the King, what is true *here*, that there is no mention of the *Icón Basilikè* by name [5].

But if We would preserve any character for fair dealing, every plea of that kind, it is certain, must *now* be forborne, both with respect to the letters produced by Mr Todd, and to that other portion of evidence to the like effect, against which that observation was specially directed. This I shall proceed to explain.

It should seem, that at the moment of printing Dr. Gauden's Letters, Mr. Todd was not aware that they had been published twice at least before; once in Dr. Maty's *Review* [6], and afterwards in the Clarendon *State Papers* [7]. Now, in the latter case, the letters to Lord Bristol are accompanied by several others to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon; and *these* leave no longer the least room for doubt, *what* the *secret service* was upon which Gauden relied. In a letter from Exeter, dated Jan. 21, 1660, (i. e. 1660-1), he claims to be the author, the *sole* author, of the *Icón Basilikè*, in assertions as express as language

[5] "By the *services* which the Bishop urges; by the *doing like a King*; and *the secret that will please none but Mr. Milton*—it is expected that we should understand the writing, and being the author of *this* book. But, what necessity is there for that? Were there no services that Dr. Gauden had done besides? Or, at least, that he might *plead*, whether he had done them, or not? Was there no other secret in the world but this? These, therefore, are *mystical expressions*, and *prove nothing*." This was urged by Mr. Wagstaffe in his *Vindication of King Charles the Martyr: proving, that his Majesty was the Author of* Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ. edit. 3d. 1711. 4to. P. 45.

[6] Sept. 1782. Vol. II. p. 253-62.

[7] Vol. III. Appendix.

can supply. We shall probably have occasion to look to these letters more at large, by and by: but, the present is a fit place, for the introduction of the following decisive passage; against which no pretence of ambiguity, or mysticism in the expressions, can be sustained.

"True, I once presumed your Lordship had fully known that *Arcanum;* for so Dr. Morley told me, at the King's first coming, when he assured me the greatness of that service was such, that I might have any preferment I desired. This consciousness of your Lordship, (as I supposed), and Dr. Morley, made me confident my affairs would be carried on to some proportion of what I had done, and he thought, deserved. Hence my silence of it to your Lordship. As to the King and Duke of York, whom, before I came away, I acquainted with it, when I saw myself not so much considered, in my present disposure, as I did hope I should have been; what sense their royal goodness hath of it is best to be expressed by themselves; nor do I doubt but I shall, by your Lordship's favor, find the fruits as to *something extraordinary, since the service was so.* Not as to what was known to the world under my name, in order to vindicate the Crown and the Church, but what goes under the late blessed King's name, The Εἰκὼν, *or Portraiture of his Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings.* This book and figure was wholly and only my invention, making, and design, in order to vindicate the King's wisdom, honor, and piety. My wife, indeed, was conscious of it, and had a hand in

disguising the letters of that copy which I sent to the King in the Isle of Wight, by the favour of the late Marquis of Hertford, which was delivered to the King by the now Bishop of Winchester. His Majesty graciously accepted, owned, and adopted it as his sense and genius; not only with great approbation, but admiration. He kept it with him; and though his cruel murtherers went on to perfect his martyrdom, yet God preserved and prospered this book, to revive his honor, and redeem his Majesty's name from that grave of contempt and abhorrence, or infamy, in which they aimed to bury him[8]." And there is a great deal more to the same purport.

What, therefore, shall We now say?—Let the weight of these letters be added to those which were cited before. Let us consider to *what* individual these latter are addressed, and the persons to whom (namely, Dr. Morley, and Bishop Duppa, and Lord Hertford,) appeal, in support of the claim, is made: consider, too, the applications which Gauden had preferred to the King and the Duke of York: and, *what can we say?* Will not Mr. Todd find his hands exceedingly strengthened? Must not the former conclusion of that gentleman, (to say nothing of the Edinburgh Reviewer, and the rest,) be regarded as confirmed, beyond any possibility of being shaken?

But further. It is well known that this is no new controversy. Hence, it is right, that we should

[8] *Clarendon Papers.* Vol. III. p. xxix. Appendix.

bear particularly in mind, that *neither* of the two collections of letters, of which I have spoken, (that at Lambeth Palace, and that in the Clarendon Records at Oxford,) was known to those writers, on either side of the controversy, by whom the dispute was carried on in former days. The few papers, indeed, which I have lately adverted to, (those which have been designated by the name of *Mr. North's Papers*,) contained, probably, something very like the claim as we now have it developed and embodied in the language of Gauden himself. But the other two authentic collections, it is certain, were an entire secret to Hollingworth, and Long, and Wagstaffe, on the one side; and equally to Milton, Walker, Toland, &c. on the other. Now, it might be a fair subject of consideration, *what* the influence of these additional documents would probably have been, if they had been forthcoming, at an earlier stage. Could it, in that case, have been possible for Hollingworth, and the other partizans of the King, to have written as they have done? But, without dwelling upon this kind of speculation, thus much I may be permitted to remark, without dispute, that the controversy, if it is still to be continued, must now assume in some important respects, a new character. It is no longer left to Gauden's *friends* merely, to advocate his cause, labouring, as they did, in *their* circumstances, under the unavoidable difficulties and imperfections of their case: but now, Gauden *himself* descends into the field, as his own champion, with a

challenge as unequivocal and peremptory as it is possible to conceive.

Are We to reckon, therefore, that it is from the silent operation[9] of these modern authorities, that the controversy, which had once been pretty generally considered as decided in favour of the King, has of late years been comparatively little prosecuted; or, has taken in most quarters, and in the popular mind, quite another turn? Is it to be ascribed to this same cause, that they, who might have been expected, from the bias of, perhaps, even a partial attachment, and honest prejudice, to espouse the side of the King, have been constrained to adopt an altered tone? As, for instance, I might refer to such an example, in the person of a Chaplain of your Grace; who says, "The Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, it is commonly supposed, was written by Dr. Gauden[1]." It is true, indeed, that subsequently to the date of which I speak, several of the arguments on this question have been stated with candor and ability, and, perhaps with something of a leaning to the side of the King, by Mr. Nichols, in the first volume of his *Literary Anecdotes;* but then it is proper to remark, that Mr. Nichols, also, does not

[9] "*It is owing to the want of this decisive evidence,*" says Mr. Macdiarmid, "that Hume, and many other authors, are inclined to give Charles the merit of writing the Icôn." *Lives of British Statesmen.*" Vol. II. p. 368. 2d edit. And, in the preceding page, the same writer expresses himself thus: "Among the most importunate claimants, who demanded patronage as their due, was Dr. Gauden, the *author of Icón Basilikè*, which *loyal credulity* so long attributed to the pen of Charles the First."

[1] D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft.* Vol. I. p. 47.

appear to have been aware of either of the two sets of letters, in which so decisive a claim is preferred by Dr. Gauden.

Upon the whole, when we have such a claim as this put forward in the manner which we have seen, repeatedly and urgently, by a man of great abilities and learning, and of much experience in life: when we consider his sacred profession, and elevated rank, and find him appealing, as he does, to those individuals, who were every way the most competent to estimate, and the most deeply obliged to scrutinize the truth of his pretensions: when these things are borne in mind, surely, no prudent man, we may think, will be hasty to promote a renewal of this debate on the *other* side of the question.

Nevertheless, my Lord, I own, I am not freed from all doubt on this subject. I am not satisfied, and must not be silent. Honestly, I think, that very much may yet be said for the King: and that the difficulties are still very great in acceding to the Bishop's demands. Had I been clearly of opinion, that the matter *is*, or *ought to be* settled, in accordance with the judgments of Mr. Todd, and others, I should not have troubled your Grace with these Letters. But, finding insuperable reasons to compel me to think, that we should not be justified in being content with looking at merely *one* side of this question, my intention, therefore, is to enquire into the evidence on *both* sides; to examine whether there be *any*, and *what other* evidence for Gauden, besides

that which we have already had before us; and afterwards to see how the matter stands with respect to the King.

Gauden, it is true, boasts, and protests, and threatens, "No man," says he, "can rob me of the honour of the work." If any one shall attempt this, let him know, therefore, that he does it at his peril. If *I* should meditate such a design, here, where I am writing, the words can hardly fail to ring in my ears, which, in former days, were thundered from Christ-Church against one of my illustrious predecessors.

"——— *Remember Milo's end,*
Wedged in that timber which he strove to rend."
ROSCOMMON.

I. In producing the evidence on the side of Gauden, we naturally *begin* with his own testimony. The principal strength of this is comprised in that extract from one of the Letters to the Chancellor, which I have already cited. In the others, whether to Lord Clarendon, or Lord Bristol, the claim is frequently repeated, but I do not perceive that it recurs with accessions of argument, or additional circumstances of evidence, very material to be noticed. There is no *other* instance in which the *Icón* is mentioned by name: none other, where an appeal is made to Duppa; or to the Marquis of Hertford; or to any other person, besides those already enu-

merated, as being privy to the facts asserted. If there be any thing particularly worth remarking, it is, perhaps, the frequency and confidence of the Bishop's appeals and references to Dr. Morley. In *one* letter, alluding to this close and confidential friend of the Chancellor, he asks indignantly, "Are these the effects of *his* liberal expressions, *who told me I might have* what I would desire?" In the *second*, "*Dr. Morley* once *offered* me my option, upon the account of some service that he thought I had done extraordinary for the Church and Royal Family, of which he told me your Lordship was informed." Again, in the same letter of January 21, 1660-1, from which I have already given that long and important extract, "Thinking myself secure in the just value of *Dr. Morley*, who I was sure knew it, and told me your Lordship did so too." And, *lastly*, about eleven months afterwards, "I am forced now not to be wanting to myself, nor to rely too much on other men's justice and ingenuity. I insist much upon what *Dr. Morley* (now Bishop of Worcester,) *frankly told me*, after the King's first coming to Whitehall, that I might have what preferment I desired, such an esteem he *then* put on me, and the services he knew I had done." We may also notice, in the nature of an appeal, a second mention of Mrs. Gauden. "Her pious, loyal and generous spirit, is too conscious to what I have done, both known and *unknown* to the world, in order to buoy up the honour of the Royal Family, the Church and Episcopacy, to

bear with any temper the straits to which she see me, herself, and her children exposed [2]."

II. Next to Gauden's own, we will give the precedence to the evidence of his wife. The passage which I have last quoted speaks of her as being *conscious* of his *unknown services:* and we are fortunately in possession of a *narrative* from Mrs. Gauden's own hand of her knowledge on the whole subject. This paper probably was written for the information and use of her family, not long after the death of her husband, which occurred in the year 1662. Its existence was first made known publicly in the year 1693, and an abstract then given of it [3]. And in the

[2] P. xxvi-xxvii.

[3] In a pamphlet entitled, *Truth brought to light, or the gross forgeries of Dr. Hollingworth detected; to which is annexed a Manifest Proof that Dr. Gauden, not King Charles the First, was the author of Icón Basilikè, by a late happy discovery of his original papers upon that occasion.* This pamphlet gives us the following account of these papers. "A Summary Account of some Papers relating to the *Icón Basilikè*, or the Portraiture of King Charles the First, now in the hands of Mr. Arthur North, merchant, living at Tower-Hill, London."

"Mr. North is a worthy person, and a member of the Church of England. He said Mr. Charles Gauden, the Bishop's son, married two sisters; and Mr. Gauden dying about ten years since, all his papers were left with his widow; and Mr. N. having occasion not *long since* to look amongst those papers for some relating to his sister-in-law's affairs, found those relating to the *Icón Basilikè* carefully tied up together.

"There are several letters and papers; and I will briefly give as particular an account as I can of the contents of each; and for the truth of what I shall here put down, I refer myself to the Original Papers, and to those many reverend and worthy persons who have read or been at the reading of them.

"1. There is a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, dated in January 1660 to Dr. Gauden, then Bishop of Exeter; wherein the Secretary tells him, that he wrote by the King's command, to acquaint him that his Majesty had received his letter; that he had him in his thoughts, and that he should not long have cause to complain of his removal from Bocking.

year 1699, it was published by Toland in his *Amyntor*. As it is my purpose to be copious in the pro-

" 2. There is a copy of a letter from the Bishop to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, dated the 28th of December 1661; and, also a copy of a Petition to the King, which, by the several emendations and interlineations therein, all wrote by the Bishop's own hand, appears to be the very original and first draught.

" In these the Bishop sets forth, that he had a high rack, (the Bishoprick of Exeter) but empty manger; and declares what hazards he had run of life and estate; and what great advantage had accrued to the Crown by his service: that *what he had done, was for the comforting and encouraging of the King's friends, exposing his enemies, and converting, &c.* He pleads that, *what was done like a king, should have a king-like retribution;* and instances in the cases of Joseph, Mordecai, and Daniel, who were honoured and rewarded for the services they did to their respective Princes, though, as he observes, they were captives in a strange land: in particular, he observes, that Ahasuerus was uneasy, till Mordecai had had his merited reward.

" 3. There is a copy of a letter of the Bishop's to the Duke of York, dated 17th Jan. 1661. It strongly urges the great service he had done, and importunately begs his Royal Highness to intercede for him with the King, his sole hope being in his mediation.

" 4. There is an original letter from the Lord Chancellor Hyde to the Bishop of Exeter, all the Chancellor's own hand-writing, dated 13th March, 1661. It imports that the Chancellor had received several letters from him: that he was uneasy under the Bishop's importunity; excuses his not being yet able to serve him; speaks of annexing a *Commendam* to his Bishoprick: and towards the close of it hath this remarkable expression. *The particular you mention, has indeed been imparted to me as a secret. I am sorry I ever knew it; and when it ceases to be a secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton.* This is subscribed " *Edw. Hyde, C.*

" 5. There is a letter of Mrs. Gauden's own hand-writing, after the death of her husband, the Bishop, to her son, Mr. John Gauden; wherein she tells him she had sent him an hogshead of Cyder, and directs him to send her down some pictures by the man that brought the cyder.

" She in that letter speaks of the book commonly called the King's: She calls it *the Jewel;* and tells her son, that *her husband hoped to make a fortune by it;* and wonders it should be doubted whether her husband wrote it; but says, *she has a letter of a very great man's which will clear it up.*

" 6. There is a long Narrative of Mrs. Gauden's hand-writing, shewing that her husband wrote the book. This she sent to her son with the letter, wherein she said, she sent it that she might be a Clavis to him.

" The narrative sets forth," &c. (Here follows an abstract of the narrative, which I omit, intending to give the narrative itself entire.) " I desire my reader to take notice, that though I am sure I have said nothing in this foregoing account, but what is in substance true, yet I will not undertake that I have always hit the very words; and I heartily wish the papers themselves may be made publick, whereby this short account would be justified." P. 35-39.

duction of my authorities, I shall place the whole of this Narrative in the margin[4].

[4] "My husband understanding the great value and esteem the people had of Cromwell and of others in the army, occasioned by the high opinion which they had of their parts and piety; he being also well assured that one of the main designs of those wicked politicians was to eclipse his Majesty that then was, as much as might be, and to give a false misrepresentation of him to the world; he, that he might do his Majesty right, did pen that book which goes by the name of the King's Book. The title which he gave it then was *Suspiria Regalia;* and the design was to have it put forth as by some person who had found the papers in his Majesty's chambers at Holmby, being by chance left, or scattered there. And to this purpose he had prefixed an epistle, which might be supposed to be written by that person, who having found them by that accident, thought it not fit to conceal them. His design also in the book was to give such a character of her Majesty to the world, as her great worth, extreme merits, and admirable endowments deserved.

"When my husband had writ it, he shewed it to my Lord Capel, who did very highly approve of it; and though he thought it would do very well to have it printed, yet he said it was not fit to do so, without his Majesty's approbation. And to come to speak to his Majesty in private was then impossible, in regard of the strict guard which they kept about him.

"Immediately after this there was a treaty with his Majesty at the Isle of Wight, whereupon my husband went to my Lord Marquiss of Hertford that then was, and to him delivered the manuscript, and he delivered it to the King at the Isle of Wight, and also told him who the author was.

"When my Lord Marquiss returned, my husband went to him; to whom my Lord said, That his Majesty having had some of those essays read to him by Bishop Duppa, did exceedingly approve of them, and asked whether they could not be put out in some other name. The Bishop replied, that the design was, that the world should take them to be his Majesty's. Whereupon, his Majesty desired time to consider of it: and '*This*' (says my Lord) '*is all the account I can give of it. What is become of the manuscript I know not; and what will become of his Majesty God knows.*' Upon this my husband told my Lord Marquiss, that, in his opinion, there was no way so probable to save his Majesty's life, as by endeavouring to move the hearts and affections of the people, as much as might be towards him; and that he also thought that that book would be very effectual for that purpose. Then my Lord bade my husband *to do what he would, in regard the case was desperate.* Then immediately my husband resolved to print it with all speed that might be, he having a copy of that which he sent to the King; and that he printed was just the same; only he then added the essay upon *their denying his Majesty the attendance of his chaplains,* and *the Meditation of Death,* after the votes of the non-addresses, and his Majesty's close imprisonment at Carisbrook castle.

"Now the instrument which my husband employed to get it printed, was one Mr. Symmonds, a divine, and a great sufferer for his Majesty; and he got one Mr. Royston to print it; which Royston never knew any thing but that it was of his Majesty's own penning. My husband did then alter the title of it, and called it *Icón Basilikè.* Now,

This Narrative, doubtless, is in many respects a curious and observable document. But I know not, that on any account, it is more important, than for the addition which it makes to our list of persons

when it was about half printed, they who were in power found the press where it was printing, and likewise a letter of my husband's, which he sent up to the press. Whereupon they destroyed all that they then found printed, but could not find out from whence the letter came, in regard it had no name to it. Notwithstanding all this, my husband attempted the printing of it again; but could by no means get it finished, till some few days after his Majesty was destroyed.

"When it was come out, they who were then in power were not only extremely displeased at it, but also infinitely solicitous to find out the author of it, thinking it very improbable that his Majesty should write it, in regard of the great disturbances and troubles which for many years he had suffered; or, at least, impossible that he should have writ it at all: for, after the attendance of his chaplains was denied him, and he a close prisoner, they well understood, that he could not write any thing without their discovery. They also took that very manuscript which my husband had sent his Majesty, and saw that it was none of his Majesty's hand-writing. Upon this they appointed a committee to examine the business; of which my husband having notice, he went privately in the night away from his own house, to Sir John Wentworth's, who lived near Yarmouth, and him he acquainted with the business, and the great danger he was then in, when Sir John did not only promise to conceal him, but also to convey him out of England, it being in his power to give passes to go beyond sea. About this time Mr. Symmonds was taken in a disguise; but God in his providence so ordered it that he sickened immediately, and died before he came to his examination, nor could the committee find out any thing, by any means whatever; which altered my husband's resolution of going out of England. Now, besides these circumstances, to assert the truth of what I say, I can produce some letters, which I am sure will put it out of all dispute.

"My husband continued at Bocking till the return of his Majesty, King Charles the Second; and, upon his restoration, knowing his princely disposition, did, not unjustly, expect a suitable reward for his endeavours to serve his Majesty's father, and himself, in that book. And meeting with Dr. Morley, he fell into discourse how sensible he was of the great service which he had done his present Majesty and the Royal Family, in composing and setting forth that excellent piece, called *The King's Book:* and also assured him, that it had been very effectual not only at home, but abroad, to move the hearts and affections of people towards his Majesty; instancing in several persons who were most exceedingly affected by it; and so advantageous he said it had been to his Majesty, that, according to his great merit, he might have what preferment he desired. Dr. Morley also told him, that he had acquainted Sir Edward Hyde with the business, and that he did very much commend and admire it. But we have not, said he, acquainted his Majesty with it; but did assure him, that his Majesty did set a high value upon the book, and had commanded Dr. Earle to

alleged to have been privy to the forgery, in the very considerable names of Lord Capel, and of your Grace's predecessor, Archbishop Sheldon. The gallant and loyal Capel, indeed, had long been dead:

translate it into Latin, some having taken the pains to put it into other languages before.

"My husband being encouraged by this discourse of Dr. Morley's, and shortly after meeting with Dr. Sheldon, (who he knew was not ignorant that he was the only author of the forementioned book,) he told Dr. Sheldon, that since he had been informed that his Majesty, out of his princely disposition, would, without doubt, when once acquainted with it, reward that service which he had endeavoured to do his father and himself; he thought it most convenient for himself, and also that he might be serviceable to his Majesty, in the diocese of London, (a place where he was well known), if it would please his Majesty to make him Bishop of that see. Dr. Sheldon was pleased, with a great deal of gravity to tell him, that was a great leap at first. Whereupon my husband desisted, and was resolved to leave his preferment to God's dispose. Soon after this, the King being still ignorant of what he had done, he was, by the mediation of a person perfectly ignorant of his merit as to this matter, made Bishop of Exeter; all the considerable bishopricks being otherwise disposed of.

"Not long after this, it pleased God to visit my husband with an infirmity, which he had great cause to fear would, as it did, prove mortal to him. This made him resolve to acquaint the King with the whole matter; and the rather, because he saw some persons who were privy to it, desired nothing more than to have it concealed, and buried in oblivion. But my husband was not willing it should be so, in regard he had at that time four sons living; and they, (he thought,) if he should die, might be capable of his Majesty's favor. Besides, the Duke of Somerset was dead, and the Bishop of Winchester, the person who was best able to attest it, was very ill. These considerations made him go to his Majesty; and having the opportunity of discoursing privately with him, he told him the whole matter, as I have related it; and, for the truth of it, appealed to Dr. Duppa, then Bishop of Winchester, and formerly his Majesty's tutor. The King then was pleased to entertain some discourse with my husband about it, and said that he did often wonder how his father should have gotten time and privacy enough in his troubles to compose so excellent a piece, and written with so much learning." P. 216—222.

Thus we have the whole of the narrative, as it was published by Mr. Toland. That gentleman has further very justly apprised us, that "by the extract that was published of this narrative, it would seem as if it were somewhat longer:" and adds, "but this is all that came to my hands, two witnesses attesting, that as far as it goes, it is exactly conformable to the original. What accident hindered the rest, (if there be any,) from being copied, I cannot certainly tell: though, whenever I come by a true information, I shall, (if occasion be,) publish my knowledge of that particular in an appendix to this book." P. 222. It does not appear, however, that the remainder has ever come abroad; and it is still more to be regretted, that the other letters and

for, he closely followed in the track of his beloved master. But Sheldon, though probably knowing nothing of what was here said of him, lived many years after the narrative was written. He too, however, had been long dead at the time of its publication by Toland.

III. We will now advert to a *second* additional testimony in behalf of Gauden. This person is Dr. Anthony Walker, who from the age of two or three and twenty, had been for about three years tutor

papers, (Mr. North's papers,) which accompanied it, (excepting a letter of Gauden dated December 28, 1661,) and, particularly, that the letter of the Lord Chancellor, in which he expresses himself so remarkably in connection with the "secret," and the effect which the disclosure of it would have upon "Mr. Milton," were never given to the world. I fear they are not now known to be extant. That we may have the whole of Mr. Gauden's evidence before us, in as complete a state as it can now be supplied, it may be proper that I should here subjoin the abstract of the remainder to which Toland alludes, as it is given in the pamphlet, "*Truth brought to Light*," above mentioned.

"His Majesty told her husband, that till then he never knew that he, (Dr. Gauden,) wrote it, (the *Icón Basilikè*,) but thought it was his father's, yet wondered how he could have time, and observed, that it was wrote like a scholar as well as like a king; and said, that if it had been published sooner, it might have saved his father's life. That at the same time the King gave him the promise of the bishoprick of Winchester.

"That he afterwards acquainted the Duke of York, that he was the author of that book which went under his father's name; and that the Duke answered, he had thought that his father wrote it. That her husband then told his Highness, that the King had promised him the bishoprick of Winchester; and that his Highness assured him of his favor.

"That Bishop Duppa dying, her husband applied to the King upon his promise; but Dr. Morley, who had told her husband, that he might have what he would ask, got it, and her husband was made Bishop of Worcester; but having enjoyed it but about half a year, fell sick, and died.

"That she petitioned the King, setting forth, that her husband left her a widow, with four sons and a daughter: that it cost her husband £200 to remove from Exeter to Worcester; and prayed his Majesty to bestow the half-year's rents upon her, which he denied, and gave them to another." P. 38, 39.

and inmate in Gauden's family, and his curate at Bocking.

In reference to Walker's evidence, I may mention, in the first place, that we are told, that he had been eager to communicate on this subject, with another predecessor of your Grace, Archbishop Sancroft, and made frequent visits at Lambeth for this purpose[5]. However, that these visits made much impression upon the Primate, does not appear. We find, likewise, that after a long conversation with Walker, (March 23, 1690,) Dr. Charles Goodall, Physician of the Charter-House, committed the substance of his testimony to writing; and it was printed by Mr. Long in the year 1693[6].

But his evidence was publicly and formally stated in the year 1692, in a pamphlet written by Walker himself. A few months before, Dr. Hollingworth had made a harsh attack upon Walker in the following terms:—

"The last objection against the King is his di-

[5] "He voluntarily offered to inform the Archbishop, Sancroft, how much he and the world were deceived, as to the author of that book, whom he knew to be Bishop Gauden; and that his handling the covenant so gently was because he had taken the covenant." *Dr. Walker's true, modest, and faithful Account strictly examined, and demonstrated to be false, impudent and deceitful, by Thomas Long, B.D. and Prebendary of St. Peter's, Exeter.* 4to. 1693. P. 18. See also p. 39. "I have also an authentic testimony communicated to me by Dr. Charles Goodall, 'That Dr. Walker had often waited on his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was wont to ask his Grace, whether he desired to be informed concerning the true author of the Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ; affirming, that not the King, but Dr. Gauden, was the author of it: adding this as a reason, that Dr. Gauden had a copy of it before it was published. This only argument he alleged to his Grace; but as for all those other assertions, which are since vented in his book, Dr. Walker at no time made use of them to confirm what he had delivered. Further, my Lord told me,'" &c.

[6] In his "*Dr. Walker's true, modest, and faithful Account strictly examined.*" P. 9—11. 20.

vine and holy book. It is not to be imagined with what industry they have, within this last year, endeavoured to persuade the world it was a forgery, and not of his compiling: and *there is a certain Essex Doctor of Divinity*, who has assisted this objection to the utmost of his power, with a false story, which I will presently refute, and set the whole in a true and proper light[7]."

Roused by this uncourteous charge, Dr. Walker speedily produced his "*True Account of the Author of a Book, entituled,* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *or the Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and sufferings, proved to be written by Dr. Gauden, late Bishop of Worcester.*" (1692. 4to.) This tract is written with great professions of sincerity: and I am disposed to acquit Dr. Walker, in regard to the *main object* of his book, of any *intention to deceive.* Neither is it easy to imagine, (though the pamphlet contains many proofs of an extreme want of judgment, and intellectual acuteness) how, considering the circumstances detailed, he could *himself be deceived*, by Gauden: besides the difficulty of comprehending how Gauden, at the time of which Walker would seem to be speaking, could have entertained any such purpose. "I solemnly appeal" (says Walker) "to the Searcher of hearts, Avenger of falsehood, and Revealer of secrets, that I will write nothing, of the truth of which I am not thoroughly persuaded, and that by as full evi-

[7] "*Defence of King Charles the First, occasioned by the Lies and Scandals of many bad Men of this Age, by Richard Hollingworth, D.D. their Majesties Chaplain, at St. Botolph, Aldgate, London.*" 4to. 1692. P. 37.

dence, as I judge such a matter of fact needs, and at such a distance of time is capable of.

"I will with undisguised openness produce *the means by which I know* what I profess the knowledge of; and the *reasons* upon which I believe what I profess the belief of; and the *probable arguments* upon which my opinion is grounded, as to those particulars, concerning which I pretend no more than thinking them to be as I declare them. And having, with honesty and candor, laid down such means of my knowledge, such reasons of my belief, such probable arguments for what I think, I shall willingly submit them to the judgment of every indifferent reader. And if they be not cogent and convincing to bring him to be of my mind, let him retain his former sentiments: but withal, I beg his leave, that without his censure or displeasure, I may retain mine; till means of knowledge, reasons of belief, arguments for thinking otherwise be produced, which in an even balance may out-weigh mine. And when I meet with such, I promise to yield without contumacy, or exacting miracles for my conviction [8]." So much for his professed *intentions* [9].

[8] P. 2.

[9] As to the strength of *argument* in the book, that, I think, is principally contained in the following extract, which comprises the whole of the second section.

SECTION II.

"I know, and believe the book, whose author is enquired after, was written by Dr. Gauden, (except two chapters writ by Bishop Duppa,) so far as the subjoined means may produce such knowledge, and the reasons may induce such belief.

"First, Dr. Gauden, some time before the whole was finished, was pleased to acquaint me with his design, and shewed me the heads of divers chapters, and some of

Then, as to the *argument* and *evidence*, Walker speaks of *Heads of Chapters*, and *some of the Dis-*

the discourses, written of them; and after some time spent in perusal, he vouchsafed to ask my opinion concerning it: and after some consideration, according to the freedom he gave me to speak my thoughts, I told him I supposed it would be much for the King's reputation, honor, and safety: but I expressly added, I stuck at the lawfulness of it; and modestly asked him, how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the world? To which he so readily replied, that I concluded he had thought on it before, *Look on the title; 'tis the Portraiture, &c.; and no man draws his own picture;* which satisfied himself; and though we might argue it a little, did at present silence me, my heart being so inclinable to what was the scope of the whole. And I perfectly remember, that in the second chapter, which is of the death of the Earl of Strafford, there being these words, which now in the printed work, of the first edition, are page 8, line 18, 19, 20, *He only hath been least vext by them, who counselled me not to consent against the vote of my own conscience,* he told me whom he meant by that passage, viz. the then Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, which, though most readers understand now, after it hath been so long spoken of, yet many then did not, of which number I was, my age rendering me less acquainted with the characters of great men.

"Secondly, some good time after what had passed, as is related in the preceding paragraph, we being both in London, and having dined together, Dr. Gauden, in the afternoon, desired me to walk with him to a friend. When we were gone part of the way, he told me he was going to the Bishop of Salisbury, *Dr. Duppa*, (whom he had acquainted with his design,) to fetch what he had left with his Lordship to be perused; or, to shew him what he had further written. And, as we drew near his house, he desired me that after a little general conversation, I would withdraw and leave them two alone, which acccordingly I did; and when they had been some considerable time together, he came forth, and we returned. As soon as we were in the street, he gave me this account of their conference:

"My Lord of Salisbury told me, there were two subjects more he wished I had thought on, and propounded them to me, viz. *The Ordinance against the Common Prayer Book;* and *The denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains*, (which are now the 16th and 24th chapters in the printed book,) and desired me to write two chapters upon them, which I promised I would. But, before we parted, he recalled that request, and said, I pray go you on to finish what remains, and leave these two to me, I will prepare two chapters upon them: which accordingly he did, as Dr. Gauden owned to me, and others whom he had made privy to the whole; and never pretended to have written these, as he did all the rest.

"Thirdly, Dr. Gauden some time after the King was murdered, upon my asking him, whether he (the King) had ever seen the book, gave me this answer: I know it certainly no more than you, but I used my best endeavours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the Marquess of Hertford, when he went to the treaty at the Isle of Wight, and intreated his Lordship, if he could obtain any private opportunity, he would deliver it to his Majesty, and humbly desire to know his Majesty's pleasure

courses shewn to him by Gauden; and, in part, perused and conferred about, between them. He men-

concerning it. But the violence which threatened the King hastening so fast, he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it. For, when the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make further noise about it, by enquiry.

" Fourthly, I once asking him, (for we seldom were in private, but somewhat was discoursed of this book, even to the last time I saw him, after he was Lord Bishop of Worcester *Elect*,) whether that King Charles the Second knew that he wrote it? he gave me this answer: I cannot positively and certainly say he doth *, because he was never pleased to take express notice of it to me. But I take it for granted he doth, for I am sure the Duke of York doth, for he hath spoken of it to me, and owned it as a seasonable and acceptable service; and he knowing it, I question not but the King also doth.

" Fifthly, Mrs. Gauden, his wife, Mr. Gifford, (who transcribed a copy of it, if I be not much mistaken, and which copy I think was that sent to the Isle of Wight, *though in this I am not so positive*,) and myself believed it as much as we could believe any thing; and when we spake of it in his presence, or in his absence, did it without the least doubt of his having written it; being as much assured of it, as it was possible we could be of any matter of fact. And it is unaccountably strange, that all we, who had the best reason, and fairest opportunities to know the truth, should all be deceived or imposed upon, which we were, to the highest degree imaginable, if Dr. Gauden wrote it not.

" Sixthly, Dr. Gauden delivered to me with his own hand what was last sent up, after part was printed, (or at least in Mr. Royston's hand, to be printed), and after he had shewed it me †, and sealed it up, gave me strict caution with what wariness to carry and deliver it: and according to his direction, I delivered it, Saturday, December 23, 1648, in the evening, to one Peacock, (brother to Dr. Gauden's steward, or bailiff, sometime before deceased), who was instructed by what hands he should transmit it to Mr. Royston; and, in the same method, a few days after the impression was finished, I received six books, by the hand of Peacock, as an acknowledgment of that little I had contributed to that service, one of which I have still by me."

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* In another place, Dr. Walker repeats this assertion, in terms still more flatly *inconsistent with the* account of Mrs. G. " Whereas it is said, Dr. Gauden told King Charles the Second, &c. whoever said so, said what was not so. He never told him. (See Sect 2. Reason 4.) It is strange he should himself tell the King, and yet not know the King knew it, but by inference because the Duke of York did." P. 15, 16.

† In another testimony, already mentioned, which purports to have been taken, March 23, 1690, from Walker's own mouth, by Dr. Goodall, afterwards President of the Royal College of Physicians, this part of the account is given as follows:—" One Peacock, Bishop Gauden's steward's brother, received part of those papers from Dr. Walker, particularly the picture, sealed up: these were put in a trunk between the Lady Warwick's points. Peacock delivered these papers to another person, unknown to Dr. Walker." *Long against Walker*, p. 10.

tions a visit to Bishop Duppa, on which occasion, that Prelate undertook to write two chapters, which (Walker says) he wrote accordingly, all the rest being the work of Gauden. And he tells us, that Gauden delivered to him with his own hand, that part of the manuscript which was last sent up, when the book was in the press.—Now, can any one say, that it is easy to see, how Walker could be imposed upon by Gauden in these particulars? And it is especially difficult to understand, how Gauden, at so early a moment, as these several circumstances would seem to imply, could have taken up the thought of pretending to be the author of this manuscript, unless he *were*. Yet on the other hand, if we compare the several statements, we shall discern some surprising discordances between this account and those both of Gauden, and of Mrs. Gauden: and it must never be forgotten, that Walker's Pamphlet refers to a period gone by almost fifty years, and to occurrences when he was a young and inexperienced person.

Walker, who was upwards of seventy at the time of writing this tract, died while it was in the press. His evidence, therefore, closes here: and we are left to regret the want of that further light which might, perhaps, have been elicited, had he been put upon explaining and vindicating the statements which he had delivered.

But there is another section, in which Walker has given us, according to his own description, "such *probable arguments* as confirm himself, and as may,

he thinks, satisfy others, that he is not mistaken nor deceived, nor would deceive," in this matter. I confess, I think very meanly of these arguments. I am willing, however, to produce them; because I should be sorry if all possible justice were not done to Dr. Gauden's side of this controversy; and because we shall thus have within our reach the entire strength of Dr. Walker's pamphlet. I place them, therefore, below[9].

SECTION III.

[9] "First. Dr. Gauden, in the beginning of the Long Parliament, which carried on the war against the King, preached before them on Zech. 8. 19, last words, *Love the truth and peace*, which sermon was printed, and the House of Commons presented him with a *silver* tankard, with this inscription, *Donum Honorarium Populi Anglicani in Parliamento Congregati Johanni Gauden*, &c., which constantly went about his house. And he had been inclinable to the Parliament's interest, till he found they went beyond their first pretensions, and the expectations of himself and other good men. But when he discovered that, he endeavoured to redeem his errour τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ τῆς ἀνθολκῆς, *by bending to the contrary extreme*. And I am persuaded it was this which put him upon the designing and finishing of this book.

"Secondly. The second probable argument may be drawn from the 14th chap. which is upon the Covenant. And I beg pardon for relating this matter more minutely than may seem necessary, that it may appear how and by whom I was furnished with it, to render it more cogent. After the book was published, being in discourse with my worthy tutor, Dr. J. Barwick, who died Dean of St. Paul's, I being privy to the truth of this affair, out of curiosity asked him, what he thought of this book? He so well knowing my education and principles, wondered to hear me ask such a question. I begged his pardon, and told him the thing being doubtfully spoken of, I made bold with *him* to ask his judgment. Well then, said he, I will prove it to you. And thus attempted it. It was writ by himself or by some other man; but it could be writ by no other, therefore by himself. I desired him to prove his second proposition, which he did thus. If by another, it must be an enemy or a friend; but neither enemy nor friend could do it; therefore it must be himself. I once more desired him to prove his second proposition, which he attempted thus; not by an enemy, for no enemy of the King's would represent him so much to his advantage; not by a friend, for no friend of the King's would write as he doth of the Covenant. Now, how easily could I have replied, though at present I acquiesced, that Dr. Gauden, though now a most hearty friend of the King, had himself taken the covenant, which we may rationally conclude, had induced him to write more favourably of it, than any of the King's party and friends, or the King himself, would ever have done?

In the former extract from Dr. Walker, he makes mention of another witness in behalf of Gauden, a Mr. Gifford, who also had been Dr. Gauden's curate [1]. "*Mr. Gifford (who transcribed a copy of it, if I be not much mistaken, and which copy I think was that sent to the Isle of Wight, though in this I am not so positive), and myself believed it as much as we could believe any thing.*" In the absence of any statement from Gifford

"Third. Third probable argument may be drawn from Chapter 16 and 24, which, as I shewed before, (Reason 2.) Dr. Ganden told me were written by *Bishop Duppa. For the ordinance against the Common Prayer, and denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains,* were subjects, which Dr. Gauden was less concerned to think on; for 'tis well known he had forborne the use of the Common Prayer, (though it was continued longer in his church than in any thereabouts), and had never been the King's Chaplain, but Bishop Duppa having been the Prince's tutor, a long time Chaplain, and a Bishop, was as mindful of these particulars, and as much concerned to be so, and with as great reason, as any man living could be, and therefore first desired Dr. Gauden to write on these subjects, but after recalled that motion, and undertook to do it himself, which he also performed as I showed before. And his free declaring, that he had neither thought of these subjects, nor wrote of them, which it was so unlikely he should, renders it very probable that he spake truth in declaring that he wrote the rest.

"Fourth. I meet with expressions in the devotional part very frequently used by . Gauden in his prayers, (for he used conceived prayer both in his family and in public) which I never heard from any other man, and 'tis very easy to observe, that most men, even in ordinary conversation, and more especially in their prayers, though they vary in their method, have peculiar phrases, and modes of expressing themselves; and where we find such occur, 'tis a probable evidence they proceed from him to whom they were peculiar.

"Fifth. I am sure, as I can be of any thing, that Dr. Gauden made the extract out of this book called, I think, *Apophthegmata Caroliniana.* I am sorry I have not one by me to give a fuller account of it. But the thing is most notorious, that there was such a book came out in a very short time after, printed by *Mr. Dugard.* Now, why should Dr. Gauden concern himself so much more than any other of the King's friends, and dispatch it with such expedition, had he had no more concern in it than other men: and had not been inabled to finish it so speedily, and could with such readiness take it to pieces, and digest it into wise and weighty sentences, who had put it together, and whose thoughts had dwelt so long and much upon it? I cannot forbear to judge, that to those who will consider it impartially, it carries the fairest and highest probability to confirm what is before declared, the reasonable belief of his being the composer of it. How much more, when all the five are joined together?" P. 6-8.

[1] *Long against Walker*, p. 6, 7. 10, 11.

himself, it will not be thought, perhaps, that allegations such as this, concerning a person who had been long dead, can go for much.—But, indeed, if we are to credit an account from another quarter, the weight of Gifford's authority must be altogether transferred to the opposite side of the controversy. To render this latter account more easily intelligible, I give it in connexion with a story sufficiently remarkable, about Mrs. Gauden herself.

"And now, that I may not appear to be a single witness in this evidence, I subjoin these following attestations: first, that quoted by Dr. Hollingworth, (p. 10), that Mrs. Gauden told a lady of good quality, that she had a great concern for the eternal state of her husband, because he pretended he was the author of that book, when to her knowledge he never wrote it. This Dr. Hollingworth had from a minister in London [2].

"To this I shall subjoin the agreeing testimony of Mr. Gifford, (who lived with Dr. Gauden, and as Dr. Walker intimates, did transcribe the book); which testimony I had from the mouth of the Rev.

[2] See Hollingworth's *Character of King Charles I.* 1692. 4to. P. 10. In a subsequent work, Dr. Hollingworth has recurred to this singular story, in the following terms.

TO THE COUNTERFEIT LUDLOW.

SIR,

"Whereas you challenge me as to the truth of the story concerning Mrs. Gauden to a lady; if you please to come, or send to me, I will direct you to that reverend person, who will satisfy you, that a lady told him, above sixteen years ago, that Mrs. Gauden told her, that she questioned the eternal state of her husband, because he pretended to be the author of a book, which to her knowledge he never wrote. And, when you know him, you will say I am not out, when I say, he is as considerable a person as most that wears a gown." Hollingworth's *Death of King Charles I. a downright Murder*, 1693. 4to. Signat. a 4 (reverse.)

Dr. Edward Lake, Archdeacon of Exeter, being then on his visitation, about Easter last; who declared, in the presence of another judicious friend, that he well knew Mr. Gifford, and that discoursing with him occasionally concerning the King's Book, Mr. Gifford thought it, next to the Holy Scripture, to be one of the most divine books that had been written. And that Mr. Gifford, preaching on the 30th of January, and urging to charity, quoted this passage out of that book, as being the King's Book, *It is all that is now left me, a power to forgive those that deprived me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it.* This testimony being given by Mr. Gifford to an intimate friend, who was much better acquainted with the transactions concerning the author and publishers of that book, and for aught I ever heard, of a clearer reputation than Dr. Walker, (who owned that he never read the book in manuscript, but intimates that Mr. Gifford transcribed it); who, had he been conscious that the copy which he transcribed had been of Dr. Gauden's compiling; yea, I may say, had he not known (as he had the best opportunity to inform himself), that it was the King's, he would never have quoted it as his, on so solemn an occasion [3]."

Thus far then, we have proceeded. We have seen the claim as preferred by Gauden himself: and, in addition to that, we have seen the express evidence of Mrs. Gauden and of Dr. Walker; and, if we please,

[3] Long against Walker, p. 6. See also Wagstaffe's *Vindication of King Charles I.* p. 40, 41.

we may bear in mind also this further assertion of Walker respecting Mr. Gifford. That is, we have the claimant himself; we have his wife; and his friend. And I can go no further. Besides these, I am not aware that there is any other direct testimony on this side of the argument.

But, in the next place, I must not neglect to observe, that this claim, thus preferred and supported, was not fugitive and transitory. During fifteen months, or more, it was pressed repeatedly on the notice of Clarendon; and Gauden appears to have died, persisting in it to the end. His wife, at least, leads us to believe, that even in the agonies of death his mind was upon this subject. He attempted to write a letter to the Earl of Bristol, "but his pain was so great, that it would not permit him." And he gave no sign of compunction or change. Nay, I may add, that

"Even in his ashes live their wonted fires."

At least Mrs Gauden thought fit that he should appear in marble on his monument, with a book in his hand, whereon is inscribed, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ (See Kennett's *Register*, p. 774.)

With respect to Mrs. Gauden herself, the accounts vary. We have seen one story, remarkable enough, concerning her alleged fears for the eternal state of her husband. But another account tells us, that "after her husband's death, she resided at Gloucester: and that Dr. Nicholson, bishop of that see, understanding that Mrs. Gauden did declare that her

husband wrote the King's Book, and desiring to be fully satisfied in that point, did put the question to her, upon her receiving the sacrament; and she then affirmed that it was wrote by her husband. For the truth of this, I can appeal to persons of undoubted credit now living in Gloucester; and I am under no doubt but my Lord Bishop of Gloucester, that now is," (Dr. Fowler) " will acknowledge that those persons have related the matter to him, as I have now told it. And I do as certainly know, that there is a person of quality, and clear reputation, who was Mrs. Gauden's brother, now living, that will affirm that his sister did constantly in her conversation with him, declare that her husband was the author of that book. And the same thing is well known to several of her relations, now in being[4]. And yet, a third

[4] *Ludlow no Liar: or, a Detection of Dr. Hollingworth, &c.* 1692. 4to. P. 19. The Relations of the family, being here spoken of, perhaps it is but fair to the King's side, that I should find room for the only material testimony of that kind, with which I am acquainted. It is supplied by Mr. Young: and the import is quite of a different nature from that mentioned by *Ludlow no Liar*.

" A. D. 1694. The English and Dutch fleet being in Torbay, one Mr. Gauden, a nephew of that bishop's, and Muster-master of the Blue Squadron, made a visit to the Reverend Mr. Walter Getsius, Rector of Brixham (a town adjacent to the Bay, greatly resorted to by the mariners, and lying between it and Dartmouth). Mr. Getsius, on hearing his name, enquired of him whether he knew any thing of what was then newly published by Dr. Walker and others, concerning his uncle's writing the King's Book? The gentleman seemed much troubled at the question, and said he was sorry such a false report was spread abroad. *For*, said he, *such I know it is. My uncle was not the author.* He promised Mr. Getsius to tell him another time, how he came to be so reputed; deeming it not convenient to make the discovery in the company then present.

" The fleet soon after sailing out of the bay, Mr. Getsius saw him no more. But the truth of what is here related I have attested under his hand in a letter, dated June 23, 1699.

" Mr. D. Osborn, A. M. and Fellow of Exeter College in Oxford, was present at this conference; and confirms Mr. Getsius's relation of it under his hand, July 3, 1699; adding, that Mr. Gauden declared he had often heard his uncle deny his being author of that book. It seems, saith Mr. Osborn, he knew how the mistake happened. And

account, again says, that in a Life of her husband, written by her own pen, "was found no manner of mention of his having any hand in composing King Charles's Meditations: though, there was great care taken to bring in all circumstances of whatever the Bishop had been, or had done, that might be for his credit; about taking his degrees, being chaplain in the Lord of Warwick's family, preaching before the Parliament, and being thereupon presented with a tankard bearing such an inscription, and many passages of the like nature; which makes it not probable this vain woman would have omitted the most glorious of all his atchievements, had the Bishop, indeed, had any hand in that heavenly composure, which is by some ascribed to him." (Wagstaffe's *Vindication*, p. 65.)

We should have been glad to have had a sight of this Life; but in obedience to Mrs. Gauden's commands, it was destroyed after her decease.

The publication of Dr. Walker's evidence, I have already remarked, was contemporaneous with his

would have discovered it to Mr. Getsius, had convenient opportunity happened. If ever these papers fall into that man's hand, I hope he will mind his promise, and do right to the wronged memory and reputation of King Charles the First *." If this gentleman knew "how the *mis*take happened;" if he had knowledge from the family, on the subject, we may justly regret the absence of any further communication from him. But, if all that he relied upon was, that "he had often heard his uncle deny his being the author of that book," that will go for little or nothing, unless it be certain at the same time that the denial was voluntary and spontaneous. If there were any bargain and compact between Gauden and Clarendon, or Gauden and the King, (Charles II.) one of the conditions doubtless would be, that Gauden, when questioned, should deny that he was the author.

* *Several Evidences.* P. 9.

death.--Walker, therefore, died with this testimony in his mouth. Gauden appears to have done the same. But, with respect to Mrs. Gauden, there seems to be some uncertainty.

But again; *to whom*, I ask, did Gauden fearlessly prefer this extraordinary claim? To those very individuals, who of all men that can be thought of, were the best qualified, and the most bound in duty to examine into, and to denounce the detection of his claim, if it were not well-grounded: to the King's two sons; to the Earl of Clarendon, the great, the good, the faithful, wise, and deeply attached minister of the martyred King; and, to the Earl of Bristol; perhaps also, in some degree, to Sir Edward Nicholas,—men, in ability and opportunities for the discovery of the truth in this question, very little, if at all, inferior to Clarendon himself. Again: to whom did Gauden refer as vouchers of what he said? Were his pretensions involved in mysticism and obscurity, as would befit a matter that could not bear the light, but must be kept huddled in a corner?—He appeals to Duppa, the tutor of King Charles the Second; the faithful attendant and counsellor of King Charles the First—him, with whom that Prince had perhaps more intercourse during his troubles, than with any other Bishop; to Morley; and, lastly, to the good and truly noble Marquess of Hertford. This third witness, indeed, was recently dead: but, he had left friends behind him, of whom we are to suppose enquiries *might* be made; and who could hardly fail to know his sentiments and declarations on a subject, which

had been, to an extraordinary degree, the topic of every tongue, and matter of interest to all hearts. Surely the whole of this can denote nothing but the confidence of truth. What further could have been done that Gauden has neglected?

And then, with respect to the *results:* consider the effects only upon Lord Clarendon. We know very well, that when the book was first published, Clarendon read it with great delight and admiration; and with no suspicion whatever, that the work was not the King's. Subsequently, no doubt, he had heard the insinuations thrown out, at the suggestion of Cromwell and the rest, by Milton and others. But, Clarendon, we *must* think, was not a man with whom things of that nature and value, imputations, wholly unsupported by evidence, could go for much. What, therefore, must have been his emotions, when he came to read such a claim as we have seen that Gauden's was,—in a letter addressed to himself? Could he receive the tidings with indifference? Would he not, in the first place, immediately repair to the book, and weigh every chapter and paragraph? Would he not put to task all his own reasoning and memory; and re-examine and question afresh his former impressions, which had been too the impressions, for twelve years, of all the world, whom he loved, and with whom he lived? The Bishop's claim, indeed, was bold and uncompromising; and, by its very daring, might seem calculated to prevail with many individuals, because it would appear almost morally impossible, to an upright mind, that such a

claim should be preferred, unless it were substantially true. But Clarendon was no novice: and those previous impressions, of which we have spoken, would serve to protect him, it might be supposed, from any precipitate and blind credulity. Besides, the motive of this disclosure was professedly a selfish one: and those letters of Gauden assuredly were not of a kind to conciliate the respect, and so to lull to sleep the suspicions of such a man as Clarendon. Read them, and we shall rather stand amazed that they did not repel him with disgust, and make him renounce all intercourse with the writer. Was not this, therefore, not done, because he felt, to his sorrow, that Gauden had possession of a secret, by which his own freedom of action was paralyzed? Is it to be believed that Clarendon would implicitly acquiesce in the bold demand of Gauden, without reflexion or demur? It *may* be *so said:* but surely the thing is not possible. He did reflect. He must have reflected, deeply and anxiously. And what can his silence denote, but that he received from his reflexions a painful apprehension, that Gauden's claim was but too true; or, at least, that he was compelled to doubt of his means and ability to convict the claim of falsehood?

But, perhaps, an Advocate of Charles will say, "With the strict, and somewhat stern and rugged integrity, in which Clarendon may, in a degree, be said to have prided himself, it might justly have been expected, that if he had been clearly convinced that the book was not the King's, Clarendon, at the

time (but, if not at the time, then surely on some future occasion, during the many years which he survived, and in some of the many Histories, Tracts, and Letters which he wrote,) should have communicated the unwelcome, the grievous truth to the world. Has not the world a right to the truth? and is not this maxim among the very first laws of history?" True: but was he under any such obligation in a case like the present? Rather, on the other hand, might not Clarendon justly distinguish between his duty as a statesman, and as an historian? It was in the first character that this circumstance came to his knowledge. Might he not think, that he had no power over this appalling secret: but that his duty both to his former, and to his present master, would best and only be discharged, under the weight of either of the above-mentioned difficulties, by the most stedfast and scrupulous silence? Perhaps, therefore, he early determined to keep this secret close, (so far as Gauden would permit him,) in his own single bosom. This surely seems the most rational account of the conduct of Lord Clarendon.

I confess, indeed, it might be argued, on another view, but on the same alleged supposition of Lord Clarendon's own opinion of the forgery, Might not the public disclosure of the secret have been the best *policy?* The King and his ministers, it is true, found themselves placed in arduous and critical circumstances. The effect of this book had been great, even in its tendency to promote the Restoration: and they could ill spare, perhaps it may be said, any

advantage at so perilous a moment. But, the English are a generous people, if treated generously: and, the account being told as Clarendon might have had the opportunity of telling it, and with the touches and colour which he was capable of giving to it, the pain might have been much softened, and the voluntary disclosure, at least, *as such*, would have been popular. At any rate, was Gauden a man, on whose discretion, not to say in his present heat and displeasure, but in *any* temper, they could rely? Read his letters, and see whether he might not be judged capable of producing the secret to the broad day, (at least if his interest did not forbid,) with every possible reproach of language, and with any circumstances, the most inflammatory and dangerous to the new government, which he could devise? Does it not seem, therefore, that in the case supposed, it might have been, though not due from him in *justice*, yet in *prudence*, that Clarendon should have advised the open avowal of the truth; or, at least, have recommended that it should be suffered to *escape*, with as much temperate management as was possible: and so to have done his best by one of these ways, to rid the Royal Family and the Government of the guilt, and the danger of maintaining so dark a fraud? Could he forbear to remember, what had been malignantly said, with considerable effect, against the family of his master, on occasion of the escape of the Duke of York from the hands of the Parliament? "Such as the father is, the same are the sons likewise." Alas! must he not have dreaded

the indignation of a people, who should find out that they had been deluded with fictitious shews of piety?—This, therefore, not being done, we are thrown back again into doubts of *what* the real impressions of Clarendon were.

I have hitherto reasoned on the supposition, that Clarendon, under the pressure of this painful communication, reserved the debate solely to his own bosom. But now put the case otherwise. Let us suppose him not able to satisfy himself, either *for* Charles, or *for* Gauden, from his present stores of information, and by the researches of his own mind. In such predicament, would he not naturally resort to others? If he could have no help from the remaining family of Lord Hertford, would he not of himself, or by the King, make instant application to Duppa, who, though aged, lived fifteen months after the important letter of the 21st of January, 1660-1: who, we know, was often visited by the King during his last illness, and from whom the youthful monarch, then less corrupted by the defilements of the world, sought his last blessing, on the very day in which he died; according to the striking account which we read in the Bishop's funeral sermon:—

"As once the King of Israel came to see the dying Prophet Elisha, that he might take his farewell, and with that farewell a blessing, from one he should never see again, so did the King of our Israel repair to this dying Prelate, a few hours before his expiration, not only to see, but to require, a benediction from him at parting, which in the

lowest posture of humility he besought. Kneeling down at the bed-side, he begged his last blessing, which he, like Jacob on his death-bed, (and now as dim-sighted as Jacob,) with one hand laid upon his Master's head, and the other lifted up to heaven, he with a most passionate zeal bestowed [5]."

Again. Was it possible, on our present supposition, that Clarendon should not confer immediately with his own especial friend, Dr. Morley, whom he consulted continually in all his anxious cares for the settlement of the Church at the Restoration? *that* Dr. Morley, whose knowledge of the transaction is so repeatedly insisted upon by Dr. Gauden? Neglect, indolence, and indifference, in such a case, in any individual, much more in Lord Clarendon, is impossible. Supposing, then, that he had not been previously satisfied, the investigation would now be prosecuted with the aid of others. And what, then, was its *result?* Did Morley and Duppa confirm the claim of Gauden; or, did they not?

In the case now supposed, that is, that the secret was imparted to others, I own I feel disposed to think, that, with the high principles of the virtuous Clarendon, it might have been expected, that, if at length he were convinced the work was not the King's, sooner or later he would have taken some opportunity of communicating this judgment to the world: and, in this same case, he could not but feel the motives for the *policy* of a disclosure, to come

[5] *Sermon preached at the funeral of Brian, Lord Bishop of Winchester, April* 24, 1662, *by Henry, Lord Bishop of Chichester.* P. 37. 4to.

voluntarily with the authority of the Crown, much stronger than before. For, if he conferred with Duppa and Morley, it is hardly possible, I think, but that this step would have superinduced the necessity of consulting others: that is, the secret must have gone further, and the danger of its transpiring publicly must have correspondently increased. Hence, this our expectation not being warranted by the result; and Clarendon never having spoken publicly, but having persisted in his silence, why may not that silence appear to afford a strong presumption, either that no such communications as we are supposing were ever made by Clarendon; or, that, if made, they did not produce in him conviction *against* the King, and in *favor* of Gauden?

On arguments such as these, is it possible to believe, then, that Clarendon did not weigh the whole matter with great anxiety? True, supposing him convinced that the work was a forgery, he did not decide for that which some may be inclined to think might have been the more manly and dignified, and also the more prudent part. But, perhaps, we are not capable of judging now, of all the difficulties by which, at the moment, this great Minister was surrounded. Perhaps, he might be compelled to content himself with the lesser good, when he could not secure the greater. He might think, that he had done all that could be done, for the satisfaction of the claims of his own upright mind, and for the claims of truth, in behalf of that, and of future ages, by acquiescing in Gauden's pretensions; by preserving

his letters, with the design, or the hope, that they should transpire hereafter, at a season, when the Government might be better able to sustain the shock; and by authenticating and recognizing the validity of his claim, in the act of encouraging his applications for advancement to a superior bishopric. For, on the other hand, this, at least must be granted, whether Clarendon went further, or whether he kept the secret solely between himself and Gauden; in either side of the alternative, *this* meaning at least his silence *must* convey: with all the helps that Gauden had put into his power, *he could not have found out that the claim was really groundless.* In that event, what a burst of indignant scorn would the grovelling Prelate have had to sustain under the eye of the virtuous Statesman? Had Clarendon found means to convince himself that the claim was not true, the Bishop must have found, not promotion as the fruit, but shame and degradation: a triumph of justice in which all would have exulted with the most heart-felt enthusiasm. What! when every other bosom was dilated with joy, or depressed by penitential self-reproaches; when all were striving to do late justice to their murdered King, by every expedient which generosity could devise; labouring under a lavish and uneasy impatience; dissatisfied with all that they could do, or bestow; and sensible only of their inability to reach by act, that which their hearts prompted and required,—shall one Prelate disgrace himself, and his sacred calling, by inflicting a stab worse than all that had been done

before? plunder the dead; strip his murdered Sovereign of the robe of a good name, in which he fell; basely seek his own aggrandisement, by destroying, through falsehood, the veneration for their King and father, in the breasts of his surviving children, and of his most faithful and attached people and servants? But, if considerations of policy, in the critical situation of the Church, as well as of the State, preserved Gauden from a *public* exposure, must we not conclude, that Clarendon would needs have afterwards taken some opportunity to signify at least in *general* terms, that pretensions had been made to the authorship of the King's Meditations, and that the pretensions were groundless?

Now, my Lord, are not all these things so? And must they not have pressed with a very constraining force upon the mind of Lord Clarendon?

But, it is not merely the *wickedness* of Gauden, if his claim were a false one. Can any thing, upon *that* supposition, be equal to its *folly*? Is it possible that so much senseless fatuity, and determined dishonesty, should meet in the same individual? To what incredible suppositions are we not reduced, if his claim was not true! How was it possible that he should escape detection? Did he hope, that Clarendon would never enquire of Duppa, or of Morley? Did he expect to gain his point *before* their answers should arrive? And after, would he be content to make up his choice for the bad part, and care nothing about the rest? Or, are we to suppose, that, in making this claim, he was wholly

abandoned by all self-possession and self-control; morally and intellectually deranged; reason and conscience, for the time, being utterly overwhelmed and lost, through the furious passions of pride, envy, avarice and ambition?

The silence, then, of Clarendon, in the History of his own Life, in the History of the Rebellion, in his Letters, and in all his other writings; his deep and total silence, respecting the *Icón Basilikè*, and the question of its authorship, *may* have its difficulties, when considered as unfavourable to the rights of Charles, (as indeed, I think, it has, particularly if it shall turn out, that it was a silence not merely to the public, but to all:) but, assuredly, in one respect, it speaks volumes. It seems to supply one of the strongest *indirect* confirmations, which a claim of the nature of Gauden's could possibly have received. We are slow to believe, that Clarendon would not *reflect;* and would not *enquire;* and would not be competent to *decide;* and would not have *told* us of these pretensions, and of their invalidity, if he had satisfied himself that they were groundless.

But the silence of Clarendon, of Bristol, and of Nicholas, is not all. Even the King's sons themselves are brought forward, to give positive testimony against their father.

In the year 1686, at a sale of books of the Earl of Anglesey, by one Millington, an auctioneer, in turning over the leaves of a copy of *Icón Basilikè*, while

it was in the hands of the salesman, the following *memorandum*, which, ever since that time, has made a conspicuous figure in this controversy, was discovered :—

"MEMORANDUM.

"King Charles the Second, and the Duke of York, did both (in the last Session of Parliament, 1675,) when I shewed them, in the Lords' House, the written copy of this book, wherein were some corrections written with the late King Charles the First's own hand, assure me, that this was none of the said King's compiling, but made by Dr. Gauden, Bishop of Exeter; which I here insert, for the undeceiving others in this point, by attesting so much under my hand.

"ANGLESEY."

For the purpose which I am now upon, it will not be necessary that I should enquire into the validity of the objections which have been raised against the genuineness of this memorandum: objections, upon the strength of which, the Earl's son, the Lord Altham, did not scruple to express his conviction that the whole was a forgery[6]. This is not necessary, because we have the testimony of Burnet to the same

[6] See Wagstaffe's *Vindication*, p. 13, 14; and Young's *Several Evidences*, p. 22. See also *Biographia Britannica*, Vol. I. p. 202. Art. *Annesley*, for "another circumstance, which" (says the author) "has never yet been taken notice of, with respect to this *memorandum*, and which seems to affect the credit of it in a very sensible manner."

points: and that might be further corroborated, by an anecdote from the second Earl of Clarendon.

"I was bred up," (says Burnet, in his *History of his own Times*, Vol. I. speaking of the *Icón Basilikè*) "with a high veneration of this book: and I remember that, when I heard how some denied it to be the King's, I asked the Earl of Lothian about it, who both knew the King very well, and loved him little. He seemed confident it was his own work: for, he said, he had heard him say a great many of those very periods that are found in that book. Being thus confirmed in that persuasion, I was not a little surprised, when in the year 1673, in which I had a great share of favour and free conversation with the then Duke of York, afterwards King James the Second, as he suffered me to talk very freely to him about matters of religion, and as I was urging him with somewhat out of his father's book, he told me that book was not of his father's writing, and that the letter to the Prince of Wales was never brought to him. He said Dr. Gauden wrote it. After the restoration, he brought the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Southampton, both to the King, and to himself, who affirmed that they knew it was his writing; and that it was carried down by the Earl of Southampton, and shewed the King, during the treaty of Newport, who read it; and approved of it, as containing his sense of things." This expression so much resembles that in Gauden's letter to Lord Clarendon, "His Majesty graciously accepted, owned, and adopted it as his sense and genius," that

I cannot help suspecting the Duke of York's authority for this statement to Burnet might be nothing more than Gauden's own letters.

Without troubling your Grace with my reasons, I do not give much credit to what is here stated about the letter to the Prince of Wales, and about the Duke of Somerset, (*he* could not go to the King, for he was safe in his grave before Gauden put forward a word of his claim,) and, in part, about the Earl of Southampton: but, that the Duke of York told Burnet, that Dr. Gauden wrote, or told him, that he *said* he wrote the book, and that he coupled this with a mention of the King being in possession of the same information, must not be questioned. How far, however, what the Bishop might collect, is at once decisive of the real sentiments of either of the Royal Brothers, as to the fact of the authorship, is not quite so apparent. Burnet was very apt to be troublesome to them both; and when he beat them in reasoning, they would, I suspect, occasionally try to silence him, by questioning and depreciating his authorities.

I believe, my Lord, that my evidence and arguments on the side of Gauden are now drawing towards their close. I reckon nothing of a surmise of Bishop Kennett[7], who, from the use of the word "*Gaudy*," by a writer soon after the publication of the *Icón*, thinks that this author meant to insinuate his belief that *Gauden* wrote that book. I slight this surmise, because I feel very confident, that the

[7] *Register*, p. 770.

meaning thus put upon the word is a recondite one, which the writer himself never dreamt of.

It is not to be denied, indeed, that several contemporary writers, Milton and the Author of the tract last alluded to (The Εἰκὼν αληθινή), and others, did assert or insinuate, that the *Icón Basilikè* was not the King's. And, had any of these asserted, or insinuated, that it was Gauden's, they would have demanded our special attention, in this part of our argument. But, that is by no means the case. The intimations, such as they are, which they have thrown out, to whomsoever they may apply, do not apply to Gauden. So far, therefore, as these authorities are worth any thing, (I do not say that they are worth a great deal), they must be set down rather as against the claim of Gauden than for it.

Let us now pause for a moment, to examine what progress we have made.—We have a claim from Gauden himself, as explicit and confident as it is possible to conceive: and we have the claim supported by the other very express testimonies of Dr. Walker, and Mrs. Gauden: and we have all the weight *indirectly* of the silence, and of the rest of the conduct of Clarendon, and the other friends of the King: and we have the alleged express declarations of both the King's sons.

Still, with respect to the two subsidiary evidences of Walker and of Mrs. Gauden, there is an important

enquiry, which, I think, we must judge proper for this place; without reserving it to any subsequent stage of the investigation. Let us ask, "Do these two witnesses tell us much, as of their own knowledge; or rather, does not their evidence resolve itself principally, or entirely, into the mere single authority of Gauden?"

Gauden himself, indeed, has told us, in expressions, however, of which it is not easy, perhaps, to collect the precise import, not that Mrs. Gauden wrote, but that she "*had a hand in disguising the letters* of that copy which he sent to the King in the Isle of Wight;" but Mrs. Gauden says nothing of this. I doubt, indeed, whether there is any single circumstance contained in her Narrative, of which it can be said that she *must* have derived it of her own knowledge, and might not have had it solely from the information of her husband; from such parts as she had seen of the correspondence with the King, and with Clarendon and Nicholas; and from other secondary sources of that nature. Where are the nice and distinctive particulars, which might have been expected to be remembered and recorded by one interested as she was, and writing, too, as an advocate, for the avowed purpose with which she writes? Nothing is said of her having *seen* the manuscript; of her knowledge of the writing of the work, and of the process and progress of its composition. And when she refers, as a confirmation of her account, to extrinsic arguments, to the implied concessions of Clarendon or Nicholas, to "a letter of a very great man's, which will clear

it up[8];" and says, in reference to the same documents, and resting *an especial* confidence upon them, "Now, besides these circumstances, to assert the truth of what I say, I can produce some letters, *which, I am sure, will put it out of all dispute;*" one is almost led to suspect some sense of intrinsic weakness, some lurking consciousness of deficiency in that appropriate kind of detail, which might particularly have been looked for from herself.

Observations of a like nature are applicable to Dr. Walker. He is but the mouth-piece of Dr. Gauden. He boasts, indeed, that he "does not write in this affair by hearsay and conjecture, (as most do), but as of what he was privy to, and had a hand in all along from first to last." (P. 29, 30). But I find very little proof of this. He leaves us at a loss to know, whether he had ever enjoyed any thing which can be called a free inspection of the manuscript; nor does he mention that it was in the hand-writing of Dr. Gauden. He leaves us in great uncertainty, at what time precisely Dr. Gauden conceived the notion of the work; *when* or *where* its "*first*" *was*; by what steps it proceeded; and, (what we might very justly have expected) *where* he himself principally obtained his knowledge of it, at Bocking or elsewhere. While it is not unimportant that we be told, that, probably, about the end of the year 1647, (and, I do not know, that any where, so early a time as this is indicated, for the *commencement* of the work

[8] *Truth brought to Light*, p. 37.

by Gauden), Walker quitted Bocking, and went into the service of the Earl of Warwick[9].

In short, if there be any thing at all, assuredly, it is a very little, in the testimony, either of Walker or of Mrs. Gauden, which can be considered as of an original and independent character. By far the greatest part of what is material, is such as Gauden *might* easily have insinuated into them, (especially if we reflect who, and what sort of persons both of them were); in part, perhaps, at the time of the publication; but in much greater degree, as I suspect, at periods *long* subsequent. We must never forget, that Walker's book was not written till nearly five and forty years after the publication of the *Icón Basilikè:* and that towards the close of that interval, he had been gadding about, and talking, and disputing a great deal upon the subject; things very likely to make a confusion in any man's memory.

Yet, after all, the single evidence of Gauden himself is so express, so direct, so substantiated, by *indirect* confirmations; in one word, so apparently, such as Clarendon, whom we know, and the sons, *whom we believe*, to have been appealed to, and all the other nearest friends of the King, *if appealed to*, (and, would not one expect that Juxon, and Sheldon, and San-

[9] Hence, if the account purporting to be given by Dr. Walker to Dr. Goodall, March 28, 1690, was correctly taken down by that gentleman, I feel strongly convinced that the impression conveyed to Dr. G. in the following words, was not a just one: "Dr. Walker and Mr. Gifford, were *both privy to these affairs, living together in the Bishop's house:* though the Doctor is uncertain whether he ever read this book in manuscript, or only saw it with its titles of the chapters; though he thinks that Mr. Gifford might copy it out." *Long against Walker*, p. 10, 11.

derson, and Legge, and Ashburnham, and Sir Philip Warwick, &c. &c. should have been consulted?) did not, or could not, gainsay or confute; so confirmed by Clarendon's (to say nothing of any others) living, and writing concerning Charles, for many years, with all the advantages that leisure and subsequent enquiries, and the maturest deliberation could supply, that, looking only at this side of the question, it would seem next to impossible, but that Gauden, and not Charles, was the author of *Icón Basilikè*.

II. Yet, evidence it is certain there is, a great deal of evidence, on the side of the King. And this I shall now proceed to detail.

The book was published, as all affirm, only a very short time after the King's death. The copy, (asserted to be one of the *first* edition), in the British Museum, amongst the collection which goes by the name of "The King's Pamphlets," the gift of his late Majesty, bears, as is usual, in that very valuable collection, a manuscript *memorandum* on the title, denoting, either the day of publication, *or* rather, probably, the day when the book first came to the collector's hand; and that date is February 9. But, there is an evidence, which I see no reason to call in question, which asserts that the book came out the very day after the King's murder, (a circumstance extremely worthy of observation, especially as it accords with what Royston, the bookseller, is said

to have declared, that he had orders not to publish it, till after the deed had taken place.) "This further I speak of my own knowledge," (says the author whom I am now citing,) "the very next morning after that horrible act, I saw one of them, and read part of it, under the title of Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, which it now bears[1]."

We have several testimonies, (one, for instance, from Mrs. Gauden, as we saw above), that great endeavours were made to suppress the book before its publication. Rumours, therefore, had reached the Regicides of an important work being likely to come out, from the hand of the King: and having all too late learned to reverence and to fear his virtues and abilities while he was living, they were now constrained to *dread* the effects of his pen when he should be dead. There was a great deal of search, therefore, after the printing presses; and part of the work, in fact, was seized, in the hands of the Royalist Symmons, who had the care of carrying it through

[1] *Vindiciæ Carolinæ*, or, a *Defence of* Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, *in reply to a book entitled* Εἰκονοκλαστης. 8vo. 1692. P. 10.

From another quarter we obtain the name of this writer, and a repetition of the fact in question, with some additional circumstances. "The matter of fact is this: at an auction of books which was held at Button's coffee-house, in Russel-street, Covent Garden, about Christmas last, I bought Mr. Toland's Amyntor, or a Defence of Milton's Life; in the 120th page whereof is written, by one Dr. Thomson, the following memorandum.

"Mr. John Wilson, barrister-at-law, author of the *Treatise of Monarchy*, 8vo., and of the *Vindication of Icón Basiliké*, against Milton, told me, in person, that he bought the *Icón Basiliké*, Jan. 31, 1648, for ten shillings, the very next day after the King was beheaded! Fra. Thompson, D.D." *Historical Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. John Toland*, 1722. 8vo. P. 16.

the press. I do not speak of these circumstances as of any great weight, with respect to the question of the authorship: I mention them, as an indication, that the same sort of attention which the book attracted *after*, had commenced even *before* its birth; and when it came out, a work of the King's having been expected, it was immediately accepted as such, and no disappointment was experienced.

These domiciliary visits, however, having been ineffectual, and the book, with the rapidity of lightning, making its way into all hearts, and becoming the theme of every tongue, fresh exertions were necessary; and they who were interested in staying these effects, began to insinuate that the work was not the King's. "They desired nothing more," (says a writer, whose pamphlet was published in less than six months after the death of the King, and was indeed the first book in this prolific controversy), "than to eclipse his splendour, in dispersing reports abroad that this work was none of his penning; but one of his household chaplains; who by his studious endeavours not only perfected, but with all possible speed procured it to be published, to beget an esteem of learning and piety in his master: as likewise to allay the rigor of the approaching sentence at Westminster; and by this work of his devotion to woo his enemies to commiserate his condition[2]." "To de-

[2] *The Princely Pelican: Royal Resolves presented in sundry choice observations extracted from his Majesty's Divine Meditations: with satisfactory reasons to the whole kingdom, that his Sacred Person was the only author of them.* 1649. 4to. P. 24.

lude the world too," (adds the same writer), "they say that one Dr. Harris was the composer of it. Others assign it to Dr. Hammond [3]."

Shortly after, (probably about the month of August), these insinuations were embodied into the shape of a formal pamphlet, (entitled Εἰκὼν ἀληθινή: *the Portraiture of Truth's most Sacred Majesty, truly suffering, though not solely: wherein the false colours are washed off, wherewith the Paper-stainer had bedaubed Truth, the late King, and the Parliament, in his counterfeit piece, entitled* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ: *published to undeceive the world.* 1649. 4to.—But the friends of the King were not silent. As the former allegations were replied to by the author of the *Princely Pelican*, so the latter found a speedy answer, under the title of Εἰκὼν ἡ πιστὴ, or, *the faithful Portraiture of a Loyal Subject, in vindication of* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *and in answer to a book entitled* Εἰκὼν ἀληθινή. 1649. 4to. It will be proper to devote a particular share of attention to this *first*, this *contemporary* stage of the controversy.

There is no difficulty in estimating the value of those several allegations to which the author of the *Princely Pelican* undertook to reply. The special assertions about Dr. Harris and Dr. Hammond appear no sooner to have been made, than they were abandoned: and, from that day to this, have never met with any one hardy enough to repeat them. I need not, therefore, even take the trouble of trans-

[3] P. 25.

cribing the observations in the *Princely Pelican* respecting them. Then, as to the rest, however specious it may be reckoned, it is all mere theory. It resembles, indeed, the account, (I will not yet enquire, whether it may have given any hint to that account), which Gauden, and still more that which Mrs. Gauden, subsequently gave of *his* views and motives in compiling the work: but, these matters must be regarded as mere hypothesis, unless they are supported by direct evidence; of which there is not the slightest appearance. While, if there be any truth in Royston's declaration, respecting *the time* at which the King's Book was to be first issued, then even the theory itself, *as such*, receives a shock which threatens at once to tumble it to the ground.

In like manner, the insinuations and imputations of the author of Εἰκὼν αληθινή are mere assertions, without any the slightest shadow of proof. In the frontispiece of that work, we have an engraving of the King, placed at his desk writing; and a Doctor or Prelate is introduced, (said by some to be intended to represent Bishop Juxon), dictating to his Majesty, from behind a curtain; with a motto on the top,

Spectatum admissi risum teneatis?

And underneath are the following coarse and vulgar lines.

The curtain's drawn, all may perceive the plot,
And him who truly the black babe begot:
Whose sable mantle makes me bold to say,
A Phaeton Sol's chariot ruled that day.

Presumptuous Priest, to skip into the throne,
And make his King his bastard issue own!
The Author, therefore, hath conceived it meet,
The Doctor should do penance in this sheet.

Now, in fact, this picture, and these mottoes, are about as much, and as good evidence, as any other part of the book. And yet, even this picture comes short of the claims of Gauden. It is a confession, that though the Doctor might dictate, the penman was the King.

I am little inclined to give any extract from a production so utterly worthless. But it will be proper that this should be done, as serving to shew that no evidence had yet been made out, to impeach the title of the King to the *Icôn Basilikè*.

This inference, I think, we may sufficiently gather from the following extract, which is part of a dedication, *To the Right Hon. the Council of State, &c. and the Commons assembled in Parliament.*

"But, if the main cause of the forgery was to slander the Parliament, and the chief end proposed was to lay all the blood and miseries of the war on *their* heads, then are *you* engaged to vindicate your cause, and to detect the forgery; *which once effected,* how would his greatest friends become his deadliest enemies; and those that now cry a *Hosanna* to this book, would most clamorously then ring out a *Crucifigite* to this rook? Thus, when you should censure him, all would echo to your sentence."

Again: from a second epistolary address, entitled,

" *To the Seduced People of England.*

" What is in this book, which hath not been in messages and declarations, which were avowed by the late King, and so in reason might have prevailed more by the Author's authority? You behold those unchanged: Why should this *Gorgon* metamorphose you? Shall this *Terræ Filius*, this mushroom, this son of yesterday, prevail more on your belief than the late King could? . . . . Have you perfectly read the late King in his actions, and shall experimental knowledge be confuted by this forger's bare assertions? Will you be frighted by his *Image*, whose person could neither frown nor flatter you from your fidelity to your country; nay, and by this false Image, *which may be* some malignant priest's, whose name, *if known by you*, would have made you conclude that it could not be true? Is it news to find a court parasite preaching up prerogative? Some prelatical levite gaping after a bishopric, deanery, or the like, had compiled this piece of flattery; but the late King's success deceiving his expectations, he takes hold of this occasion to get money, (knowing that it would be vendible now, or never), to transport him to Holland, and maintain him in his tippet forsooth: a rare project, and it seems effectual beyond expectation. He that could never convert by his ministry, perhaps, a soul, hath now perverted thousands by his forgery. Thus the devil will imitate our Saviour . . . . How many malignant priests

have had no work, but to rail and plot against the state; and therefore, to spend the time, *might have written* this second part of the Legend? For my part, *charity commands* me to think that it is none of the late King's writing, by *reason* of *the forgeries and fopperies* of which it is made up: and so it would you, if you will be pleased to take notice of them. Shall mere words take you? Will you adore a devil if he be gaudily drest? And shall falsehood be prevalent, for a little flourishing?"

These two, then, the earliest attacks upon the rights of the King, I think we must consider as of no account at all against him. There is, shall I say, an *insinuation*, or, a *charge?* But, by whatever name it may be called, it must be dismissed out of court: for it is wholly unsupported by a single particle of evidence. Therefore, so far as it goes, having done its worst, and effected nothing, it tends rather to confirm what it seeks to destroy.—Let us next see, whether there be not something of more value in the two answers which these charges received.

It is to be regretted that both our Tracts are *anonymous*. This, however, we must remember, is, under the circumstances, no impeachment of their credibility. For, such was the severity of the times, that both printers and authors, on the King's side, were one and all compelled to conceal their names.

Who the author of the *Princely Pelican* was, I am not able to state. He speaks of himself, as "hav-

ing been for many years a constant servant to his Majesty's sacred person; and to whom his Majesty was oft-times pleased to communicate his private councils and addresses." And he also informs us, that "he remained constantly in his attendance on his Majesty, even to the last man, when they were all expressly enjoined to be removed from their gracious Master[3]."

Now, from this person, (probably well enough known at the time, by the indications which he has given of himself,) we have a kind of history of the origin and progress of the writing the *Icón Basilikè*. I am far from saying, that it is a history told with that exactness, which might be desired. Perhaps, the author had been little exercised in literary composition. He appears too much to affect the praise of fine writing: and, in an ambitious pursuit of that, to have been seduced from giving us, what we should greatly have preferred, a plain statement of matters of fact. Still, if his account be not altogether a base fiction, a composition intended merely to deceive and mislead; or the effect of the grossest and most incredible delusion, on the part of the author himself, (for neither of which suppositions do I see any just grounds, but many for the contrary,) this single evidence will call for our anxious consideration. We must abide by it, or must give our reasons against it: for it is decidedly at variance with all the claims of Gauden. *His* pretensions do not commence till a period *several*

[3] P. 2.

years subsequent to the circumstances here treated of. And, of two accounts, so circumstanced, it is plain that one or the other must be abandoned as untenable.

The King, at the very beginning of the troubles, having withdrawn himself from Whitehall, and determined to make a progress in the northern parts of his kingdom, with the hope that by his absence, the spirit of discontent and tumult might spend itself, and abate of its own accord, passed two or three days (March 1641, 2,) at his palace at Theobalds, in order to allow some requisite preparations to be made for his journey. At that very time, according to this author, Charles had conceived the design of his book, and was beginning to address himself to its execution.

" The King was pleased," says he, " some few days after he had retired from his Parliament, to communicate his thoughts, in his garden at Theobalds, to some of his gentlemen who were nearest to him, and of whose intimacy and abilities he stood most confident, how he had set his hand to paper to vindicate his innocency: in the first place, by shewing the reasons he had of receding from his Parliament, which he hoped should not chuse but render full satisfaction to all his subjects, unless they were of such a temper, as had pertinaciously asserted a disaffection to his person; and that not so much as one line had fallen from his pen, which, with honor he might not confirm, were it

racked by never so rigid or uncharitable a construction[4]."

"His next Essay," (the author thus proceeds in the following page,) "as he told us, he intended should take its discourse from the faithfullest servant and incomparablest statesman, that any Christian Prince could possibly rely on. *One,* (said he) *whom I cannot without a pious and religious sorrow remember; condemning myself in nothing more, than in suffering my hand to thwart the resolution of my heart: having so expressly delivered my thoughts, and in so public a manner, as beside my own conscientious fears, which incessantly awaken in me the relation of so ungrateful an action, cannot but, to succeeding times, redound highly to my dishonour.*

"To this, a Gentleman of his privy-chamber, (and one now eminent in the eye of the public,) made answer, That this could not be imputed for an error of his, but to their doctrinal assurance, who maintained the conveniency of it, and made good his subscription to it. *O!* (said he, and this he delivered with a deep sigh,) *but it is not safe for Princes to pin their faiths upon timing Prelates' sleeves. Though their knowledge make them inexcusable of error, their future account shall neither lessen my guilt, nor salve my honor.*

"*Hereto,* replied one, whose late arrest by death has freed him from encountering with sadder misfortunes, "*Sir, if the sense of that action, have such*

[4] P. 4.

strong influence over your thoughts, that the dispersing thereof abroad may so much accrue to your dishonor, I should hold it an act of more princely policy in you, rather to close, than to lay open such a wound, as may wound your fame.

" *O no, in no case, Ned,* (said his Majesty,) *the way to cure wounds is not to close but discover them; they rankle by being closed before they be cured. As for princely policy, I hold none to be better than sincere piety. This it is will only secure him, and subject his outward affections to the sovereignty of the inward man. For my part, this shall be my constant resolve, (and it shall be my daily prayer that no earthly object may weaken it in me,) that my sins may be ever before me,* &c. &c. In this sort was his Majesty pleased at that time to communicate his griefs to us, and with that passionate innocency, as it wrought strongly upon our attention."

In a chapter, entitled *The Comfort his Majesty conceived in his Work, and received from it,* he writes as follows.

" Now in this deluge of his sorrows, when he was deprived of all outward supplies, was it not needful for him to have in store some inward comforts, to refresh his troubled spirit? And these he found plenteously and preciously treasured in those divine ejaculations, which, as he many times confessed, breathed to his languishing soul most hope where least appeared." P. 14. And in P. 16,

" He acquainted us what incomparable comfort he received from that brief Manual, which he had in

part composed, and meant to continue it: not only amidst those brackish and distempered seasons, to allay his discomforts, but to communicate it likewise to such who were jealous of his safety, and tender of his innocency."

Again: in a chapter, *What choice hours he reserved for this exercise*, it is said,

"He told us that as his Morning Devotions took up the first, so he ever reserved the next for those Meditations which he had now in hand[5]."

Now, defective as these declarations doubtless are, in precision and minuteness of detail, yet being stated in controversy, and so directly tending, if not true, to ruin what they were designed to maintain; therefore, when I know of no express denial, impeachment or confutation, which in any part of them they ever received; and observe them harmonizing as they do, with much that is to follow in our narrative, I think that they cannot but be taken to have some very considerable value in this enquiry. The persons and circumstances referred to would be known, when the book was published. Was there no one who could be brought forward to declare, that having been an attendant upon the King, (*all* his attendants were not faithful,) at the times referred to, he had heard nothing of conversations of the nature pretended, and had no belief that they had ever taken place?

But the testimony from *the other* book, the Εἰκὼν

[5] P. 19.

ἡ πιστή is, I think, considerably more to our purpose.

This work also, as I have already intimated, is *anonymous:* and I am not aware of any person to whom it has been ascribed. I am inclined to think, however, that we may form well-grounded conjectures of the author. I conceive him to have been Endymion Porter. There is a passage in the Tract which leads us to suppose, that the author had probably been in company with the King, when Prince of Wales, in his romantic expedition to Spain, with Buckingham, twenty-six years before. "Had you travelled," says he, p. 89, "with the late King into Spain, you would have known that they never used to put any Catholic subject of the same religion that the King was of into any such prison at all, as you do put a Protestant King into an Inquisition, who is of the same religion with yourselves." The Prince's companions in his journey outward, were very few; only two of any note, Sir Francis Cottington and Endymion Porter; the former, at that time, secretary to the Prince, the latter, one of his bed-chamber. One of these two, therefore might, it is not unlikely, be the author. But we shall find, on examination, that the probabilities on the side of Porter, will greatly grow upon us. The nature of his employment, his known privacies with the King, the attachment of the Monarch, his supposed favorable inclination to the Roman Catholic religion, all accord with the contents of the book; and, in fact, would be strong reasons for his

taking up his pen on an occasion like the present. The interval of time between the two events, the journey, and the death of the King, was very considerable: but Porter was still alive at the latter. Wood tells us, that he died at the foreign court of Charles the Second, before the Restoration: and we find him spoken of as in London, and earnestly occupied in his Master's service, in the month of December preceding the fatal January.

From these, and other reasons which might be detailed, I consider it as probable in the highest degree, that Endymion Porter wrote *The Faithful Portraiture.*

And who then was Endymion Porter? A question, the answer to which, will at once establish the point, that great credit is due to his evidence; and, at the same time, will add to the probability of his being the author of such a Tract as that about which we are speaking.

Clarendon tells us, that when it was communicated to James by the Prince and Duke, that they had chosen Cottington and Porter for their companions, both the persons were grateful to the King, and his Majesty cheerfully approved of the election they had made. Afterwards, we find him of so much influence with his Master, when King, that a correspondent of the illustrious Marquess of Ormond, tells him, "Your Lordship is much beholden to Mr. Porter[6]." I find him corresponding with the same distinguished nobleman, with Secretary Win-

[6] Carte's Ormond Letters, &c. Vol. I. p. 8.

debank, and others. His fidelity and value to the King were such, that a committee of the House of Commons, on one occasion, required the Sovereign to discharge him from his attendance at court: and, at another time, he had the honor of being excepted from pardon, along with the Duke of Richmond, Lord Falkland, Hyde, Nicholas, and others.

Now, this Tract is writen with a considerable degree of talent. The writer first *argues*, with sufficient acuteness, the nullity of all that was pretended against the King. All that was alleged in opposition to his being the author, he contends consisted merely of the most vague and unsubstantial generalities. In a prefatory copy of verses, addressed to his antagonist, speaking of the imputed forger, he demands with great justice,

> *Why didst not tell his name? Say,* "Here's the man.
> Lo! here he is; deny him if you can.
> 'Tis Doctor Such-a-One: he lives hard by."
> *Or, Such-a-One might say,* "It is not I."
> *Therefore to save Yourself from all that blame,*
> *The Doctor and Yourself must have no name.*

But, he does much more than *argue*. He gives us his own direct and positive *testimony*.

"It is impossible but that the King was *admirably good*, if we read him in that book: therefore *there is a necessity* that the book should be none of his; and there is no talk where there is *a necessity*. Otherwise, the author might have informed himself of divers who have seen the original copy manuscribed by the King himself. He might have seen it himself for asking. He might have heard thousands, who

would have taken their oaths upon it, and thousands who would have justified it with their lives. He might have observed as much as all the world observed, that it was the King's own, by the Sovereign stile, which was unimitable, which was as easy to be known from other stiles as was his face from other faces; it being impossible that either face or stile should counterfeit the majesty of either. But, *necessity* must be obeyed[7]."

Again, still more forcibly;—referring jointly to the pretences of the adversary, and to the frontispiece, before mentioned.

"I do not allow that a Doctor made the King's book: you are to prove it. Why did you not? Why did not the hand that drew the curtain, lay hold on him? I take it to be the King's book. I am sure of it. I knew his hand. I have seen the manuscript. *I have heard him own it.* The world believes it.—What do you say? '*There was a man within a mile of an oak, I name nobody, that made the book.*' Is this a sufficient ground for a living dog to trample upon a dead lion[8]?"

But further: if this writer be Endymion Porter, then it is, I believe, utterly impossible, but that this *owning of the book* here spoken of must have been *before* the treaty at Newport: for *at*, and *after* that time Endymion Porter was not permitted to be about the King: that is, Charles must have claimed to be the author, even before the book was in being; at least before it had any existence, (according to the Gaudens,) as respected him.

[7] P. 4. [8] Ibid.

These particulars, to my mind, are so much to the point, that the adversaries to the King's claim must feel themselves called upon to reply to them. They are totally irreconcileable with the account of Gauden; and which of the two, therefore, shall we believe, the Bishop, an interested witness, *or* the friend of the King?

But perhaps the particular of greatest weight in both these Pamphlets, is the passage in which they refer to a copy of the *Icón*, which, they say, was taken at Naseby. That battle was fought June 14, 1645, long before there is any pretence of Gauden having thought about writing any such book as *Icón Basilikè*, and more than three years before the manuscript, (according to all the accounts on the side of Gauden,) first came to be seen by the King, at the treaty in the Isle of Wight.

The passages of which I now speak are as follows. First, from the Princely Pelican:

"In the field at Naseby..... there, I say, at Naseby, upon discomfiture of his Majesty's forces, amongst other rich prizes, was this inestimable gem, the continuation of his Divine Meditations, which he had gone along with to this success of that day, seized upon by the enemy, with other papers and characters of concern, being enclosed in a cabinet reserved for that purpose.

"But, such was the benignity of the conqueror, or Divine Providence, rather, that would not suffer so excellent a work to perish in oblivion, nor to be

exposed to the rude, razing hand of an illiterate soldier, that it was recovered above all expectance, and returned to his Majesty's hand; though the perusal of his papers were left to a more racking censure. Which infinitely cheered him amidst those insuccessive events that accompanied his forces, using these or the like words upon the occasion of regaining them,

"*I see the gracious eye of heaven will not suffer me to be deprived of all comfort, though my own subdue me. Posterity shall see by these papers, that I knew how to subdue my own passion, and solace myself with divine comforts, in the height of my affliction*[9]."

The other writer speaks here, as usual, in still more pointed and satisfactory terms,

"I do verily believe you think this is the King's own book, as much as I do, or any man else. There are some in the army," (here, I believe, he alludes to Fairfax, and perhaps even to Cromwell,) "that knows it to be true enough, and some have been converted by it," (here, the allusion is to Major Huntington, and perhaps to Fairfax also,) "*or the King had never had it again, after it was lost at the battle of Naseby*[1]."

It is asserted, then, my Lord, *that* the *Icôn* was taken along with the rest of the papers, in the King's cabinet at Naseby: *that* it was restored to him by the clemency of the conqueror: and *that*, while it was in the enemy's hands, it was perused by several persons, and made such an impression on the minds of some, that from enemies of the King they became

[9] P. 21. [1] P. 73.

friends. I am disposed to conjecture, and I please myself in cherishing the thought, that Fairfax read the book, and that feelings of respect and awe were produced by its perusal in the mind of the general, who, with all his faults, was a devout man: and that from this, as one main cause, arose a material change in his sentiments, affections and conduct towards the King.

Now, those which we have just mentioned, are very express and distinct asseverations; and must have been either true or false: and what gives them an especial importance, is, that, if true, these assertions again are totally fatal to the claims of Gauden; unless it shall be pretended (a thing hitherto unheard of, and totally without evidence) that there were two *Icón Basilikès;* and that the King having written his own, afterwards abandoned it, to take up with one of Gauden's composing.

The assertions, I say, are important. We enquire then, were they ever contradicted? were they ever disproved? Had they been false, this was very easy to have been done, and very likely to have been done. The Parliament, who had published the Letters taken at Naseby, were competent to have done it, and interested to have done it. That victory was an exceedingly important one: and yet, perhaps, the Parliament relied more on the uses which they should derive from the papers in the cabinet, than even from the victory itself. It is certain, that their whole tone both to the King and the people, was quite changed, when they had once secured that precious prize. All that related to the

cabinet, therefore, was subject of great importance, and of urgent and immediate curiosity. Hence it is very improbable, that an assertion could have been *made*, that an article of so much importance as the *Icón Basilikè* constituted part of that spoil; and, that the assertion could have *remained uncontradicted*, unless, in fact, it were so. Fairfax and Cromwell, one the general, the other the lieutenant-general at that battle, why did not they deny these assertions? Rushworth, the general's kinsman and secretary, the voluminous compiler of all the facts relating to these times, and who was present at the battle, why was he silent? and why does he repeatedly cite the *Icón*, as the work of the King? But, Cromwell especially, promoting, as he did, all the proceedings which had been taken against the life, and those other steps which his ambition made necessary to be further taken against the fame and honor of the King; and, as part of this necessity, he doing, at this very time, all that he could, to brand the *Icón Basilikè* with the stigma of forgery—why did not *he* take care that these declarations should be disproved; if he were not *conscious* that they were true; and further, that their truth was *known* by such persons, that even his unscrupulous and undaunted boldness durst not venture upon the denial? I suspect that he dreaded General Fairfax; and, for reasons which will appear below, I suspect that he dreaded another man, more fearless than himself, the famous William Prynne. And, therefore, he judged silence to be the prudent part: and all his endeavour was to suppress the books in which these assertions were made.

But, if neither disproved nor denied, did the account rest here, and expire of itself, as if unworthy of regard? Far otherwise.

The present is a part of our subject of so vital importance, that I shall take the liberty to deviate a little from the strict observance of a chronological arrangement, and will produce in this place, what I have farther to say respecting this Naseby copy.

May I be permitted to remark then, that the Parliament themselves have told us, that *some* papers of the King they did find at Naseby, besides those private letters to his Queen and others, which they so barbarously published? "We have other papers for our warrant, were they not too numerous and vast, and too much *intermixed with other matter, of no pertinence for publication at this time*[2]." True: not pertinent, indeed, for publication at this time; if, perchance, the expression happens to comprise within its range, the *Icón Basilikè*: for, their object at this time, was to ruin the King in the affections of his people; a result not likely to be brought about by giving them the *Icón Basilikè* to peruse. Perhaps, I say, it is possible, that the King's book *may* lurk under these studied expressions of the Parliament itself. But upon this I will not insist.

Again. I am not certain that we have not an intimation respecting these Naseby chapters, even from the hand of Clarendon himself:

"After their opening his breast," (says he, in his

[2] *The King's Cabinet opened: or certain Packets of Secret Letters and Papers, written with the King's own hand, and taken in his cabinet at Naseby field, June* 14, 1645, *by victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax.* Harleian Miscellany, Vol. VII. p. 545.

Full Answer to the Parliament's Declaration of No more Addresses, p. 150. 1648. 4to.) " and examining his most reserved thoughts, by searching his cabinets, perusing his letters, even those he had written in cipher, to his dearest consort, the Queen, and his *private memorials*, they have not been able to fix a crime or error upon him, which, &c." The term "*private memorials*," probably may denote some knowledge of this further capture in the cabinet. But neither will I insist upon this.

The first testimony to which I shall refer, we receive through an authority not to be spoken of without reverence. It is from the hand of the learned and excellent Dr. George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's. Perhaps, it will be most satisfactory, that I should produce it at large, from the pamphlet where it first appeared. " I have this testimony," (says my author) " in a letter he sent to Mr. Cornelius, once his curate, now rector of Buckfastleigh, in Devon. It is dated July 19, 1701, and saith,

" *That about the year* 1656, *while he was Vicar of St. George's, near Bristol, he had frequent conversation with Dr. Gorge, a learned divine, and a gentleman of a very worthy family of that name in Somersetshire, and of credit answerable to his quality and character; who told him, that being chaplain to King Charles*[3], *and in his army at the fatal battle of Naseby, he was employed after*

[3] It is, no doubt, the same person who is mentioned by Clarendon, as afterwards chaplain to Charles II., and as falling unexpectedly into the company of his master, in Somersetshire, in his perilous flight, in disguise, after the battle of Worcester. *Hist. Rebell.* Vol. III. p. 634 and 635. *Query.* Was he also the person recommended by Clarendon to the Lords Justices of Ireland, (in the year 1661), as his " near kinsman" *Clarendon Papers*, Vol III. *Supplement*, P. 33.

that defeat by his Majesty, to retrieve certain papers lost in his cabinet, in which some private thoughts and Meditations of that good King were set down; the loss of which troubled him more than all the other papers of his which fell into his enemies' hands that day. It was with some difficulty that they were obtained from the conqueror, but restored they were; and Dr. Gorge did most solemnly profess to this informant, that having an opportunity to peruse them, he found they were the same, as to the matters preceding that dismal day, with those printed in Icón Basilikè.

"Upon examining Amyntor's admired historian, Mr. Wood, I find this Dr. Gorge was the eldest son of the Marquess of Northampton's relict by Sir Thomas Gorge. What relation that might make him to Sir Thomas Fairfax, or what favour his birth might procure him, his Majesty, when he sent him on the errand, well understood [4]."

This testimony, doubtless, is exceedingly explicit and pertinent; valuable, not merely from the individual through whom we receive it; but also because it was given, during the prevalence of a keen and searching controversy. It may be remarked, however, that Dr. Gorge is not made to say that he was himself the person who succeeded in recovering the papers. The expression is, "It was with some difficulty that they were obtained from the conqueror, but restored they were."

[4] *Several Evidences which have not yet appeared in the Controversy concerning the author of Icón Basilikè, produced in a letter to the Reverend Mr. Wagstaffe, by J. Y.* (Young) *of Plymouth.* 4to. 1703.

A History of the *Life and Reign of King Charles* was printed in the year 1658, two years after the time referred to in the preceding testimony, about the same space of time before the Restoration, and while Cromwell was yet alive—by *William Sanderson*, of whom James Howell, a contemporary, and himself well informed in the history of those times, says, "Nor indeed was there any man more capable to pen this story than yourself, being from your youth bred up at court, not only an eye and ear witness of most of those transactions and traverses of state, you transmit to posterity," (I have somewhere seen it mentioned, that he was private secretary to the Earl of Holland), "but you were an actor in divers of them, having been employed in so many negotiations of good consequence both at home and abroad, whereby you were *par negotio*." This writer, speaking of the *Icón Basilikè*, tells us,

"This book, whilst in loose papers, ere it was complete, and secured into his cabinet, that being lost, was seized by the enemy at Naseby fight; but these papers, happily rescued, and so came to his Majesty's hands again; who, in the end, commended them to his faithful servant, that minister of God's word, Master Symmons, with command to see them imprinted [5]."

[5] P. 324.

This statement, I find, has been impugned by the zealous royalist Dr. Peter Heylin. I shall give the passage; but as it is in part erroneous, and for the rest is wholly speculative, it has no effect with me, as against a positive testimony. On the contrary, where there is so much direct evidence, as we have on the present occasion, I regard

Again, (in 1660) two years after the preceding, in another Life, prefixed to the folio editions of the *Works of King Charles*, and to some editions of the *Icon*, and entitled *The Royal Martyr; or the Life and Death of the said King, written by Richard Perenchief, D.D.*;

" The Archbishop of Armagh did affirm to those he conversed with, that he was employed by a command from the King, to get some of these Medita-

the *alleged improbability* of the circumstances, as a presumption of the veracity of the witnesses.

" Our author here upon occasion of his Majesty's most excellent book, called Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, (which he hath wholly incorporated, part *per* part, in this present history), gives a very strange pedigree of it: that, being composed before Naseby fight, it was there taken with the rest of the King's papers, and coming to his hands again, was by the King committed to the hands of one Mr. Symmons, and by him to the press: in all which there is nothing true but the last particular.

" For, first; That book and the Meditations therein contained, were not composed before Naseby fight, many of them relating to subsequent passages, which the King, without a very high measure of the spirit of prophecy, was not able to look so far into, as *if* past already. Besides, that book being called, *the Portraiture of his Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, must needs relate unto the times of his solitude, and therefore could not be digested before Naseby fight, when he had been continually exercised in camp or council, and not reduced to any such solitude as that title intimateth.

" Secondly. These papers were not found with the rest in the King's cabinet; or, if they were, there must be something in it above a miracle, that he should get them again into his hands. Assuredly those men who used so much diligence to suppress this book when it was published in print, and many thousand copies dispersed abroad, would either have burnt it in the fire, or used some other means to prevent the printing of it, to their great trouble and disadvantage.

" Thirdly, these papers were not delivered to the King by Mr. Symmons, who had no such near access to him at that time." (N. B. This is not said by Sanderson.) " For, the truth is, that the King having not finished his conceptions in the several subjects therein contained, till he was ready to be carried away from Carisbrook Castle, committed these papers, at the time of his going thence, to the hands of one of his trusty servants, to be disposed of, as might most conduce to the advancement of his honor and interest; by which trusty servant, (whosoever he was,) those papers were committed to the care of the said Mr. Symmons, who had shewed himself exceedingly zealous in the King's affairs: by whom there was care taken for the publishing of them, to the infinite contentment of all those well-affected subjects who could get a sight of them." *Examen Historicum:* or a Discovery of the Mistakes, &c. in some modern Histories. 8vo. 1659. Part II. P. 110.

tions out of the hands of the faction; for they were taken in his cabinet at Naseby [6]."

But, for the reality of this part of the transaction, we have other witnesses, besides the weighty authorities of Dr. Gorge and Archbishop Usher. The agent, by whose interposition this recovery was at length happily effected, appears to have been Major Huntington. Of this officer much might be told: but it may be sufficient now to mention, in the words of Lord Clarendon, that "he was Major to Cromwell's own regiment of horse, upon whom he relied in any enterprise of importance more than upon any man, and had been employed by him to the King, to say those things from him, which had given the King the most confidence [7]." In addition to our allusions above to Fairfax and to William Prynne, a consideration merely of the subsequent relation between Cromwell and Huntington, which arose, in great part, from a generous indignation in the latter, on finding that Cromwell had used him as a tool to deceive the King, would sufficiently account for Cromwell not contradicting any of these accounts, respecting the

[6] P. 178. edit. 1727. It is a fact, which we derive from other authority, that soon after this fatal battle, the King and the Archbishop met at Cardiff, (See Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 58.) and spent some days together. We may easily believe that the loss of these Meditations might form one among the many topics of their sorrowful interviews. "When his Majesty went away," says Parr, "and that the Lord Primate had taken his leave of him, I heard him declare, that nothing came nearer to his heart than the imminent danger of the King and Church, with the effusion of so much Christian blood."—The probability above-mentioned is considerably increased by another circumstance. We know that the King, when at Cardiff, had received the intelligence that the Parliament had printed the private Letters taken in his cabinet. See his Letter, on that occasion, to Secretary Nicholas. *Works*. P. 155.

[7] *History of the Rebellion*. Vol. III. P. 113. edit. 1807. 8vo.

Naseby copy, if, in his own mind, he knew them to be true. Major Huntington then, in a *Relation made to Sir William Dugdale, in the month of June*, 1679, *of sundry particulars concerning King Charles I. of blessed memory*, saith,

"That after the King was brought to Hampton Court, his Majesty there acquainting him with the loss of that book, *(the Icón Basilikè)* at Naseby fight, and desiring him to use his interest to regain it, he did apply himself to General Fairfax, and by his means obtained it, it being bound up in a white vellum cover; and as he well remembers all the chapters in it were written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker, but much corrected with interlineations by the King's own hand, (the prayers being all written with the King's own hand), which he says he very well knew so to be."

The above, we are to remark, is taken from a volume printed in the year 1702, (p. 163), containing Sir Thomas Herbert's *Memoirs of the two last years of the King*, Huntington's *Relation*, and two short narratives, by Colonel Edward Coke, and Sir Henry Firebrace; all of which, as the editor (said to be Dr. Charles Goodall) informs us, were "copied from a manuscript of the Right Reverend the Bishop of Ely[8]. lately deceased; and as I am credibly informed, a copy of the several originals is now to be seen amongst the Dugdale Manuscripts in Oxford library."

[8] Dr. Turner. His father, Dr. Thomas Turner, Dean of Canterbury, was chaplain to Charles I., and in attendance upon him, during the treaty at the Isle of Wight.

Two years afterwards (viz. in 1681), Dugdale published *the Short View of the Troubles in England*, and there he gives us this same account, but with some difference in the particulars.

"I shall make it appear," (says he) "from the testimony of very credible persons, yet living, that the King had begun the penning of these Meditations long before he went from Oxford to the Scots. For the manuscript itself, written with his own hand, being found in his cabinet which was taken at Naseby fight, was restored to him after he was brought to Hampton Court, by the hand of Major Huntington, through the favor of General Fairfax, of whom he obtained it; and that whilst he was in the Isle of Wight, it was there seen frequently by Mr. Thomas Herbert, who then waited on his Majesty, in his bed-chamber; as also by Mr. William Levet [9]."

I am disposed to conjecture, that in the interval between putting these two accounts upon paper, Dugdale had discovered, that in the former he had attributed some circumstances to the copy of the *Icón Basilikè*, which did not belong to it. Unless we are to suppose, that after the lapse of nearly five and thirty years, some confusion had arisen in the memory of the Major, it is probable that Dugdale had discovered, that the former statement (apparently not written by Huntington, but being merely Dugdale's memorandum of a conversation between them) was not correct, from his having blended together particulars relating to two manuscripts of two

[9] *Short View*, p. 381.

quite distinct sorts, belonging to the King. For besides what is said of the *Icón*, there was, we learn, another loss at the battle of Naseby; some Memorials of the events of the war in the year 1645, compiled for the King's use, by the secretary at war, Sir Edward Walker. Of this piece, Sir Edward himself tells us,

"About the middle of April 1645, I finished it, and presented it to his Majesty, who graciously accepted it, and read it over, to his satisfaction. From him it came into the hands of the Lord Digby, who, designing to polish it, carried it with him; so it was taken at the battle of Naseby, and fell into the hands of the then Lieutenant-General Cromwell; who, discoursing of it at the surrender of the Devizes[2], it came to my knowledge. Two years after this, when his Majesty was at Hampton Court, I informed him where it was: so his Majesty, by the means of an officer of the army, got it, and put it into my hands to be copied; which I caused to be done, and delivered the copy to his Majesty. The original I kept by me, and when I came out of England disposed of it. Thus much for the subject, and through whose hands it passed[3]." When the King was at Hampton Court, the recovery of this manuscript had become an object to him, because Sir Edward Hyde had now commenced his History of the Rebellion, and had applied to his Majesty for materials: by

[2] At this time both Cromwell and Fairfax were at Devizes. See *Sprigge's Anglia Rediviva*. 1647. P. 122-4.

[3] *Walker's Historical Discourses*. 1705. fol. P. 228.

whom, therefore, as soon as recovered, it was transmitted to the historian. This, it is true, was an object of some importance: but there is nothing in this circumstance, nor in the tract itself, as any one may see by perusing it, to justify the ardent expressions of rejoicing and gratitude which (as we hear from all hands) fell from the King on the recovery of the other manuscript.

Now, these Memorials of the war, and not any copy of the *Icôn Basilikè*, I doubt not were the book, to which those circumstances of the former relation, respecting "the chapters being written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker;" and "the interlineations in the hand of the King;" and, probably, that other particular, about the *white vellum cover*, are to be applied. Of all the transcripts mentioned of the *Icôn Basilikè*, I find no where any *other* account of one taken by Sir Edward Walker: and there is other ground for thinking that he never took one. Whereas both the above particulars of the handwriting of Sir Edward, and the interlineations of the King, are strictly true of the *Memorials of the War*. For, they were afterwards printed, by Sir Edward himself, from the manuscript spoken of; and the *King's interlineations* may be seen, printed in a distinct type.

The difficulty which here presents itself, did not escape the sagacity of Mr. Laing [4], the writer of *The History of Scotland, from the union of the Crowns on the*

[4] See also *Toland's Amyntor*, p. 228.

accession of James VI. to the throne of England, to the union of the kingdoms in the reign of Queen Anne. This gentleman, in the very page in which he has made a piteous lamentation, that "the evidence for the authenticity of the *Icôn* affords a *melancholy proof* of the fallacy of human testimony, wherever the *religious*, the *political*, or the *national prejudices of men intervene*," concludes some remarks on these two accounts of Huntington, with saying, "Such then was the only book" (he means the book of the Memorials of the War) "in Sir Edward's hand-writing, which was lost at Naseby, and returned by Huntington, the officer, to the King. At the distance of thirty years, he converts it without scruple into the *Icôn*; which should teach historians how to estimate his veracity, in the noted Apology for resigning his command [5]." The meaning of which is, that Mr. Laing, on the mere score of the discrepancies alluded to, rejects the account of the *Icôn Basilikè* altogegether, and chuses to understand all that is true in the two narratives of Dugdale, as applying merely to another book, never mentioned by him, the *Memorials of the War*.

But, need I insist, that this is a conclusion, to which (without saying any thing about "melancholy proof," and "fallacy," and "prejudices,") we can in no sort accede?

Even without going beyond the two accounts which are given as from the same author, Dugdale,

[5] Vol. III, p. 538.

we may have a reasonable suspicion excited, that he is necessarily speaking, (though he perceives it not himself,) of *two* different manuscripts; and that while the second account is correct, and relates only to the *Icón*, the first is not correct, because part of the circumstances mentioned refer to the *Icón*, and part to quite a separate book, of which he had then no knowledge. How can he be speaking of only "*one* and the *same* book," when, in the former case, he says, "the chapters were written by the hand of Sir Edward Walker," and in the latter, "by the King's own hand?" Again. Did not Mr. Laing discern, that probably *two* manuscripts are spoken of, when Walker intimates that *his* book was captured among Lord Digby's papers; whereas Dugdale's, and all the other accounts, *concur* in saying, that the *Icón* was found in the cabinet of the King? And, further, is not that probability increased, from this additional particular, that Walker's manuscript, he tells us, fell into the hands of Cromwell, and through him was recovered; whereas, all accounts agree, that *our* portion of the spoil, (the *Icón Basilikè*) was solely obtained *from*, or *by the mediation of* the commander-in-chief, Fairfax? Besides, what does Mr. Laing say to the accounts already cited (given, not *at the distance of thirty years*, but of three or four, and never contradicted to this day,) of *The Princely Pelican*, *The Faithful Portraiture*, Dr. Gorge, and the formal History by Sanderson, and that other by Perrinchief? Again, to speak only of Dugdale,—when we have *two* different accounts from the same author, is

it not usual and reasonable to give the preference to the latter? May we not suppose that, perhaps, in the interval of the two, he has discovered the mistakes of the first, and therefore abandons them? Is it not reasonable to allow a writer the advantage of subsequent correction? And is not all this particularly applicable in such a case as the present, when I state, that the second account is the only one which can properly be ascribed to Dugdale, as being the only one which he himself ever published; the former being found in manuscript, and given to the world by an anonymous editor, almost twenty years after the death of Dugdale? What historian can stand the test, if that which may, perhaps, be no better than the first rude collections of his *portfolio*, nay, perhaps, than his forsaken errors, is to be alleged against him, when he is in his grave, for the mature and authentic story, upon which alone we will suffer his reputation to be tried?

Eheu,
Quam temere in Nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!

But when Mr. Laing should have satisfied us upon all these points, he would have found, that his trouble about the Naseby copy was far from being ended. We will proceed with our authorities.

My first citation, indeed, (but your Grace is aware that my motto is, *Hear both sides*,) is of an opposite character. It is from Dr. Anthony Walker, who has inserted in his "*True Account*" some animadversions on a Tract written on the King's behalf,

entitled "*Restitution to the Royal Author;*" a Tract which I have not been able to meet with. The extract which I shall produce, is derived from this portion of Dr. Walker's book. I have no thought of offering any remarks: only I may observe, (a circumstance that tends much to lessen the value of our evidence from Dr. Walker,) that we could have no subsequent answer or explanation, whether from Dugdale, or from Huntington, as they had both been dead some years at the time of Dr. Walker's writing.

"In Sir William Dugdale's[6] account here quoted, there are four things asserted: to all which I shall answer in order, denying what I know to be mistakes, and granting what I know or believe to be true or probable, and give the reasons of such my denying or granting.

"The first and most material passage is that concerning Major Huntington, to which I say two things:

"*First*, That this account of his testimony is wholly different from what was used to be alleged as his, and I have very often heard: but never met with this before. And it is highly improbable, that the Lord Fairfax would take any thing out of the cabinet, and send up the cullings to the Parliament, who published his Majesty's Letters, on which the twenty-first chapter of the book is written: nor had General Fairfax that respect or tenderness for the

[6] The reference, it is plain, is to Dugdale's *printed* account, not to the manuscript subsequently published in 1702.

King then, though he was heartily against his murder.

"*Second*, I will in the faith of a Christian declare what I had from Major Huntington's own mouth, without diminution or wresting of it. I had so often heard Major Huntington's testimony alleged, viz. that whilst he had attended his Majesty, or had the guarding of him, he saw the King frequently take these papers out of his cabinet, and sometimes read them, sometimes write more; and that when he saw the book he declared those chapters in it were those very papers he had so seen: I having, I say, so often heard *this* alleged, and knowing well it was impossible to be true, had as earnest a desire to speak with him, as I ever had to speak with any man; but could a good while meet with no opportunity. But after some time, being at Tunbridge-Wells, the major coming thither with his son-in-law, Sir J. Friend, a fair occasion offered. For, after some small acquaintance, and converse upon the walks, the major invited me to his lodgings at Calverley Plain, which I most readily accepted, and made him a visit one afternoon. When I came, he received me very kindly; and all the company, besides himself, being engaged in their divertisements, I had as free an opportunity as I would wish to discourse of this affair. After a while I told him I had a favour to beg of him, in granting which he would greatly oblige me. He answered to this purpose: he would not deny me any thing in his power wherein he might serve me. I then told him what I

had heard, as I have above related, and earnestly intreated him to tell me what he knew, or had said of that book. He willingly condescended, and began thus:

" 'It is like you have heard how much trouble this hath put me to. I have been examined by one committee after another, and that, time after time, about it: and many things alleged that I should say. But I will tell you freely and fully all I know, or ever said concerning it, which was this: when that book was published, and so confidently reported to be the King's, then surely," (Query add, *I said, these are?*) " or I believe, these are the papers I see him so usually take out of his cabinet. But this was but my conjecture, and I never declared it to be otherwise. For I assure you, I never read one line or word of the papers in the King's hand; I was not so rude: and I cannot say there was one passage in these papers which is in this printed book: for, how should I, never having looked into them?' Now, whether I should believe Major Huntington, whose account, as in the sight of God, I faithfully relate, as to the scope or substance of it; or an account so utterly inconsistent with it, and which is in itself so highly improbable, let any considering man judge[7]."

Now, my Lord, need I insist, that, at the time of this interview, Dr. Walker, it is certain, knew nothing of Dugdale's " *improbable account,*" as he styles

[7] P. 32.

it, and therefore he never turned the conversation that way. He asked nothing about the capture of the King's cabinet; nothing concerning the copy of the *Icôn*, said to be found there, and its restitution by the means of Huntington. He was perfectly in the dark upon all these subjects, and talked about quite a different time; and about circumstances, relating to the manuscript and the King, quite different. Walker did not know, that Huntington is wont to be cited in this enquiry, for two distinct purposes, relating to two distinct seasons. And, perhaps, we are not to wonder that to such a man, Huntington, did not enlarge beyond what the occasion required. He complains, we see, of the trouble which he had been put to in this affair. Perhaps he had found as much reason to dread the Penny-post, as we shall learn, by-and-by, Sir John Brattle had.

For, let us proceed, and we shall see that there is evidence much better than Dr. Walker's, that, at other times, and to other persons, Huntington did repeatedly hold language sufficiently consistent with Dugdale's story.—I shall content myself with what may be produced from a single author, Mr. Long, in his Reply to Dr. Walker.

(A) First, to a Non-conforming Minister, as reported by Dr. Hollingworth.

(A) "Those testimonies I shall now set down. And, first, the testimony of the learned Dr. Robert Hall, son of the famous Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter, who was treasurer of the Church of St. Peter's, Exeter, to whom the major was near related by his marriage, and with whom he sojourned sometime at Clist-hidon, the doctor's be-

(B) Secondly, to the same purport, to Mr. Duke, and others, as reported by Archdeacon Read.

nefice. This Rev. Dr. Hall hath told me and others, that Major Huntington, waiting on his Majesty, at Holmby, assured him, that he had seen the King writing some of those papers, which the major had opportunity to read; and knew, that such as he did then read, were the same as are now printed. To this of Dr. Hall, I add that of Richard Duke, Esq., and justice of the peace in Devonshire, who lately declared to me, and another judicious divine, that he heard the major affirm the same, almost in the same words:

"And Sir William Courtney, a person of great honour, as I am credibly informed, when this relation was read or told to him, as Dr. Walker reported it, was pleased immediately to say, that he well knew the major, and had heard him aver the like report, as Mr. Duke and others have declared."

Thus far, perhaps, Dr. Walker could, in some measure, tolerate, because the time and circumstances are such as he had heard of before; but we now come to what he calls the "improbable account," and "had never met with."

"These evidences confirm what Dr. Hollingworth relates, p. 21, of his "*Defence*," *That a Non-conforming Minister told him, that Major Huntington told him with his own mouth, that he procured some papers, that made up part of this royal book, from the hands of Fairfax, the Parliament General, which were taken after Naseby fight, and kept by the Lord Fairfax; and that afterwards the said major presented them to the King with his own hand. Dr. Hollingworth adds, I spare the man's name for particular reasons: but if I am called to it, I will depose to the truth of his saying so, upon oath.* But I hope, (continues Mr. Long,) the testimonies now following will prevent that labour."

(B) "The first is, that of the Rev. Mr. William Read, Archdeacon of Barnstaple, in these words:

"*I do hereby certify, that I dining with Bishop Lamplugh, at his Palace in Exeter, some years since, there happening some discourse concerning King Charles the First's* ICON BASILIKE, *and some said there was a doubt made, Whether the said King were the author of the said book, or no? I told the company then at the table, that I had heard from several perons of good credit, many years ago, that one Major Huntington did affirm, that after Naseby fight he took that King's cabinet, wherein several Meditations of the said book were, written with his own hand; and that he afterwards delivered them into the King's own hands, which he received with very much joy, and gave him many thanks for restoring them to him.*

"*And I do further certify, that one Richard Duke, of Otterton, in the county of Devon, Esq. being then at the Bishop's table, did positively affirm, that what I had reported concerning Major Huntington was true, he knowing well the said major, and having heard him, with his own mouth, affirming to him, that what I have above set down was true. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 18th day of July, 1693.*

"WILLIAM READ, *Archdeacon of Barum.*"

(c) Again, to Mr. Cave Beck; to whom he declared, that he read the book before he delivered it to the King, that he was much affected by it, and from that time became a proselyte to the royal cause.

(d) It is further expressly affirmed, that previously to its restitution to the King, Huntington lent the book to Sir Jeremy Whichcott; that *he* transcribed seventeen chapters, as he would have done the whole, had not Huntington been in haste to restore it to the King.

(c) " This is confirmed by that of (the Rev.) Mr. Cave Beck, (of Ipswich, Suffolk,) p. 27, of Dr. Hollingworth's *Character of Charles the First*, in these words :

" That some years after the King's trial, Major Huntington, at Ipswich, assured me, that so much of his Majesty's book, as contained his Meditations before Naseby fight, was taken in the King's cabinet, and that Sir Thomas Fairfax delivered the said papers unto him, and ordered him to carry them to the King. And the major affirmed, that he read them over before he delivered them, and that they were the same for matter and form with those Meditations in the printed book; and that he was much affected with them, and from that time became a proselyte to the royal cause. He also told me, that when he delivered them to the King, his Majesty appeared very joyful, and said, he esteemed them more than all the jewels he had lost in the cabinet." *Dr. Walker's true Account, strictly examined*, by Thomas Long, B.D. and Prebendary of St. Peter's, Exeter. 4to. 1698. P. 86.

(d) " This part of the question has been considered at great length by Mr. Wagstaffe, in his *Vindication of King Charles the First*, and from him I derive the following additional testimonies :

" The next I shall mention, is of Sir Paul Whichcott, who saith, *that he hath often heard his father, Sir Jeremy Whichcott tell, that he had the* ICON BASILIKE *some time in his hands, lent him by Major Huntington, and that he transcribed about seventeen chapters, as he would have done the whole, had not the major been in haste to restore it to the King,*

" This, Sir Paul attested to the Rev. Dr. Colbatch, Casuistical Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, August 13, 1709 : and the Rev. Mr. Echard, the worthy and deservedly celebrated author of the Ecclesiastical History, and several other excellent books, some time after at London, shewed what Dr. Colbatch had written to Sir Paul Whichcott, and which he approved of without any alteration; and I thankfully own the favor the said Mr. Echard did me in communicating the same to me. Sir Paul is now living, frequently in London, and when in the country his seat is at Qui, near Cambridge. And if any person applies himself to Sir Paul, he will be willing to give him satisfaction. This is, indeed, a very ample and home testimony, and irrefra-

And, lastly, (E) we have, through the medium of Dr. Byrom Eaton, Principal of Glocester-Hall, Oxford, another account of Huntington, detailing the particulars of the recovery of the manuscript from General Fairfax; of his own reading it, and of the extreme joy with which it was received by the King.

But, my Lord, for our still further satisfaction in this very important particular, I must notice, that we are enabled again to recur to other testimonies, wholly independent both of Dugdale, and of Major Huntington. That is, we have most express declarations purporting to be the evidences of three other individuals, separately possessing a relation to these papers, so close, that none more intimate can easily be imagined:

(F) As, first, of the Earl of Manchester:

gably confirms Major Huntington's testimony; and besides that, is an undeniable proof of the authority and genuineness of the book itself; for Sir Jeremy had it in his custody, read it, and transcribed a great part of it."

(E) "The same, also, Major Huntington, told to Mr. Rowney, of Oxford, the major's special friend and acquaintance, attested by Dr. Byrom Eaton, D.D. and Principal of Glocester-Hall, in Oxford, and which I have now by me, under the hand of the said Dr. Eaton, and in the presence of Mr. Thomas Becousal, B.D. of Brazenose-College, Oxford, wherein the doctor testifies from his late friend, Mr. Rowney, father to the present member of parliament of that name, what he had from the mouth of Major Huntington, *that the King solicited him to obtain his papers, taken in his cabinet at Naseby, from General Fairfax; that the major undertook it, went in person to the General, and obtained them: that in his return he had the curiosity to send a good part of them, and was highly pleased with them: that the King received them with infinite satisfaction and respect: and that upon the publishing the* ICON, *he declared, that he remembered several passages in the said papers, and did believe both to be the same, and the King's own book.* This bears date at Oxford, May 12, 1699." P. 72.

(F) We now quit Major Huntington; and the three next testimonies are of great importance; both because they are quite independent of him; and because they are of persons who stood in such relations to the papers in question, that no closer can well be conceived.

"I proceed to the next, which is of Dr. Eales, a very eminent and learned physi-

Secondly, of Mr. Prynne: (G) that by order of Parliament he had the perusal of all the papers, after

cian, and which I have now by me, and drawn up, and subscribed by himself in these words:

"*I, Luke Eales, of Welwyn in Hartfordshire, do hereby certify, that being at dinner at the table of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Manchester at Kimbolton, some years before the restoration of King Charles II., (how many I cannot tell), I heard there a discourse between his Lordship and three or four Divines of those times, and in that neighbourhood, concerning the book called* Icôn Basilikè, *who asserted with some warmth, that that book was not written by King Charles I., and that he was not able to write it. His Lordship assured them, with some earnestness, that they were all mistaken: for, when his cabinet was taken at Naseby fight, and brought to him, he found in it, in loose papers, the aforesaid book, written with the King's own hand, and interlined in several places with the same hand: and his Lordship did affirm, that he knew the King's hand as well as he did his own.*

"*And this I am ready to attest upon oath, if legally called thereunto. In witness whereof, I have hereto set my hand, this 23d day of May* 1699.

"LUKE EALES.

"Signed and attested in the presence of

"*Thomas Creech*, Rector of Welwyn.

"*John Horsenell*, B.D. Fellow of King's Coll. in Cambridge.

"*Geofrey Gardiner*, Rector of Walkern, Hertfordshire." (*Vindication*, p. 10.)

Perhaps I ought to add, that there is something slightly defective, or inaccurate here. It is not probable, that the Earl of Manchester should be at the battle of Naseby. It is well known that he had been in command of the Parliament army; but he was removed by the *Self-denying Ordinance*. Perhaps he was not correctly understood by Dr. Eales. His Lordship must have meant, that he had a private inspection of the papers after they were sent up to London; or, he referred to their production before the committee of the two houses, appointed for the publication of the Letters, of which (as appears by *The Lords' Journals*, p. 467,) he was a member. Here, therefore, we have, (what we shall be reminded of in other parts of these collections), that which Dr. Paley designates as *the usual character of human testimony, substantial truth under circumstantial variety. Paley's Evidences of Christianity.* Part III. Chap. I.

"I have yet two other testimonies by me," (continues Wagstaffe,) "that have never yet appeared in public: the one of Mr. Jones, the other of Mr. Foster.

(G) "Mr. Jones, his father, &c. were all Royalists, though nearly related to Oliver Cromwell, which made Cromwell's wife say, when he and two brothers were taken in Sir Joseph Wagstaffe's and Penruddock's rising, and application was made for pardon, *What! our own flesh and blood against us. No! They must expect no favor.* However, they had favour: one of the brothers, after sentence, being banished to the East Indies, and the other two never brought to trial. This Mr. Jones was secretary to the first Earl of Gainsborough; and is, I believe, still in that family. His testimony is in these words.

they were sent up to London; and then and there saw the chapters of the *Icón Basilikè*:

And, lastly, (H) of Colonel Okey: all three having

"I, John Jones, do hereby declare, that within a little while after the *Icón Basilike* was first published, as I was travelling out of Wiltshire to London, I fell into the company of Mr. Stroud of Somersetshire, who had *been a colonel in the Parliament army. We lodged together the same night at Hartford Bridge, about thirty miles from London; and while we were at supper, among other conversations, we discoursed concerning the book above-mentioned; and I being desirous to hear what he would say, told him there were some people who affirmed, that it was not the King's. To which he replied, That a week before he met Mr. Prynne at Wells, who told him that he did not doubt but that it was the King's own work; because as much of it as was wrote before Naseby fight was taken there, and sent up with the letters, which the Parliament afterwards printed, to London; where he, by their order, had the perusal of all the papers; and then and there saw those chapters of the* Icôn Basilikè, *that were wrote before that time, which he knew to be the same that were afterwards published. This is the sum of what I heard from Colonel Stroud at that time; which I took the more notice of, because he had been one of the first that took up arms against the King in that country. And to this I set my hand, July* 21, 1699. "JOHN JONES.

"Signed in the presence of

"*George Basmetnil*, Rector of Achurch.

"*J. Richardson*, B. D.

(H) "The next is that of Mr. Foster, a gentleman now or lately living at Stamford in Lincolnshire, who gave his testimony to Mr. Scott, late of Little Britain, who at that time was in Rutland; and from Mr. Scott I received it.

"*I have often been told by my mother, that she had heard Colonel Oakey declare to her uncle John Bellamy, then bookseller in Cornhill, (Colonel Oakey and her said uncle, who bred her up, living together in the same country house at Hackney,) that he saw those sheets of the* Icôn Basilikè, *which were taken in King Charles the First's cabinet, with his letters at Naseby*; and that she had afterwards frequently heard her said uncle John Bellamy, upon several occasions affirm, that Colonel Oakey had told him so. Witness my hand, Stamford, June* 27, 1699. "WILL. FORSTER.

"Three days after this, (June 30, 1699) Mr. Foster wrote a letter to the said Mr. Scott, wherein he says, *That he had frequently heard his mother speak of several passages and transactions relating to those times; as also about this very point relating to the King's book: as naming the person who Colonel Oakey said took the King's cabinet, and shewed him the papers; but I have forgot their names, and so I would not offer to mention any such thing* in that testimony. *And I would not upon any account give any thing under my*

* It is certain that this officer, and his regiment of dragoons, "always counted the best men of the army," were present at the battle, and did "mightily annoy the King's right wing of horse, as they advanced" towards the Parliament army. *Carte's Ormond Letters, &c.* Vol. I. p. 126. 128. 8vo.

on different occasions seen the manuscript, immediately after its capture at Naseby; and communicating other and very pertinent circumstances respecting it.

It is now time that we should close our researches upon this topic of a Naseby copy. The conclusion, however, is a very important one; and justifies all the pains which have been taken. Here is a multitude of evidences on Charles's side, totally inconsistent with the claim of Gauden. Both cannot be true. We must keep this conclusion, therefore, in mind. We *might* ask, "To *which* side shall we incline? Shall we abide by Gauden's claim, supported as we have seen it is; or, shall we be concluded by that mass of testimonies which we have adduced in this single point, on the side of Charles?"—But, a fitter opportunity will come for considering all these matters hereafter.

When we suffered ourselves, by the importance of

hand for truth, which I could not with a good conscience attest upon oath: but what I there assert, *I am very positive in, as taking more than ordinary notice of it.* And he always understood by his mother, that both Colonel Oakey and her uncle did really believe that the King was the author of those papers. And then he gives a character of Mr. Bellamy; that God blessed him with a considerable estate; and he made no contemptible figure in the city, being, I think, colonel in the city militia. He was a man of good sense, and a very zealous presbyterian; as appears by those two pamphlets he wrote; the first, in *Vindication of the City Remonstrance*, presented to both houses of Parliament, May 26, 1646; and the second *in justification* of that Vindication, both printed 1646: and that he and Colonel Oakey lived in a most entire friendship and acquaintance together at Hackney; he delighting much to be there; and always retired thither, as often as his business in London would permit him.

"Here we plainly see Mr. Forster's tenderness: how very nice and cautious of putting any thing under his hand, of the truth of which he was not sufficiently assured; and this gives the greater credit to his testimony." *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 80.

this part of the subject, and the desireableness of having the evidence relating to it in one unbroken chain,—to be seduced into the preceding detail, we were engaged upon what I have called the *first stage* of this controversy. We were collecting the evidence *for* and *against* the King—from the authorities which appeared, *immediately after* the publication of the *Icón*. It will be proper that we now resume the thread of that argument.

Not long after the publication of Εἰκὼν ἡ πιστή, or, *The Faithful Portraiture*, (the last tract which we were employed in noticing); and within about eight months after the death of the King, Milton produced his Εἰκονοκλαστης, *in answer to a book entitled* Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. It has been affirmed, that Cromwell made several attempts to prevail upon the great Selden, to take up his pen against the King's book; and the accounts add, that all persuasions, both of himself, and through the interposition of friends, were in vain[8]. I heartily wish that he had been equally unsuccessful in his attempts upon the greater Milton. But, painful as it is, we are compelled to notice that a brand has been fixed, a self-inflicted brand, upon that illustrious name, which cannot be effaced.

Had the Work in question been the spontaneous product of Milton's own mind; had it been the unforced fruit of his fanatical notions in church government; or, of a sturdy republican spirit, we might

[8] *Wilkins in Vita Seldeni*, p. 54.

have been disposed to be silent; but, when Milton is found acting a part; when he himself has told us, that "he took it upon him as a work assigned, rather than by him chosen or affected[9]," then we feel compelled to declare our opinion, that the *Iconoclastes* is in every respect a work disgraceful to this mighty name. Ability there is, I do not deny: but it is displayed principally in insolent raillery, and cruel, barbarous jests upon the fallen and departed King. In power of argument, and of sentiment, on the several subjects discussed, and in knowledge of the state and history of the times, it is exceedingly defective: in all those particulars, infinitely inferior to the *Icón*. Whereas, in want of candor, and in the worst vices of a professed controversialist, it is most abundant.

The aim of Milton, I think it cannot be doubted, was to arrest the influence of the *Icón*, and to impair its credit with the people, without being scrupulous as to the means. For this purpose, the circumstance of the authorship was not to be neglected. Only once instil a suspicion that the book, perhaps, might be a forgery; and then, the design would be accomplished. The stings which the work was infixing in the breasts of its innumerable readers, would at once lose their chastening and salutary power. The attempt, therefore, was to be made. And what then has the writer been able to effect? Coming to his work, as Milton did, with all the aids which a tyran-

[9] *Prose Works*, Vol. II. p. 393. edit. 1806.

nical and merciless Usurpation could supply; after the various expedients of imprisonment, threats, bribes, domiciliary searches, and the like, had been put in use, what is the value of his materials? What has he accomplished? Absolutely, nothing. All is mere, vague, feeble insinuation, of no account whatsoever. But Dr. Birch, certainly no partial friend of Charles I., has given us an abstract of what is to be found in Milton on this subject: and with that, as it is sufficiently correct and candid, certainly not *over-stated*, as *against* Milton, I shall content myself.

"Milton, in some few passages of his *Iconoclastes*, has insinuated, as if there were some doubt, whether King Charles I. was really the author of *Icôn Basilikè*; particularly in his preface, where he says, *As to the author of these Soliloquies, whether it was the late King, as is vulgarly believed, or any secret coadjutor; and some scruple not to name him.* And again, in the fourth section, *whether the King, or household rhetorician;* and afterwards, in the same section, upon the word *demagogue; It is believed this wording was above his known skill and orthography; and accuses the whole composure to be conscious of some other author.* And, again, in the eighth section, concerning the fate of the Hothams, *So like the quibbles of a Court Sermon, that we may safely reckon them either fetched from such a pattern, or that the hand of some household priest foisted them in.*—Notwithstanding this, in a great many other places, he owns the book to be the King's; and when he quotes passages out of it, he generally uses these expressions, the *King's own*

language; his own words; his own testimony, his aphorism, his own rule, the discourses of a Prince, the reason by himself set down, &c. Besides, in his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio,* printed in 1654, he refers to it as the King's work; as he does likewise in his *Ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth,* published in 1659; where he hath these words, *Episcopacy, which no son of Charles returning but will certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest charge of his father:* and then quotes the very words out of the chapter to the Prince, and prints them in italic character [1]."

And truly is this all? Wherefore no *confutation?* Wherefore no *mention* of the history of the Naseby copy? Assuredly, my Lord, when I reflect upon the circumstances in which Cromwell and the Council of State found themselves now placed; knowing that all hearts were against them; hearing themselves pursued to their Privy Chamber by curses loud and deep, not only from their own country, but from all quarters of the civilized world: when, therefore, they were called upon by every consideration to do their uttermost, and yet so little was effected: when their endeavours to cause a diversion in their own favor, by attempting to excite suspicion of forgery in the King, totally failed, then,—assuredly, if on this account only, I shall require strong and indisputable evidence, if I am to be brought to believe that the work was not the King's.

[1] *Appendix to Birch's Life of Milton. Prose Works,* Vol. I. p. 64. Edit. 1738.

As upon the preceding occasions, so neither were the friends of the King backward in his cause, and silent now. A large reply to Milton appeared under the title, Εἰκὼν ἄκλαστος, *The Image unbroken, a Perspective of the impudence, falsehood, vanity, and profaneness, published in a pamphlet entitled* Εἰκονοκλαστης *against* Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. *Printed Anno Dom.* 1651. 4to. It is a respectable book, both in point of information and argument. But, on the particular question of the genuineness of the *Icón*, it adds little or nothing to our testimony. The author, on that part of the subject, contents himself with insisting upon the insufficiency of his adversary. On this account, I shall not dwell upon *the Image Unbroken*.

This tract likewise is *anonymous*, and I am ignorant of its author. There is neither name of place nor printer: I suspect, however, that it was not printed in England. By Mr. Long[2] it has been cited as the work of Dr. Earle, the tutor of Charles II., the translator of the *Icón Basilikè* into Latin, the friend of Clarendon, and afterwards Gauden's successor in the see of Worcester, and lastly Bishop of Salisbury. If this were the case, the book would be of exceedingly great authority: but I am not prepared to say that Mr. Long is right in so ascribing it. At the time, so feeble was the confidence in what had been accomplished by Milton, this book was suppressed, by the vigorous exertions of the King's enemies: and nine years afterwards, upon the Restoration, the copies

[2] *Long against Walker*, p. 8-9. 59.

on hand were put into circulation, with a new title, and a dedication to Charles II. The title now (fierce enough) was Salmasius's *Dissection and confutation of the Diabolical Rebel Milton, in his impious Doctrines, &c. &c. against his Gracious Sovereign Charles I., made legible for the satisfaction of all loyal and obedient subjects: but by reason of the rigid inquisition after persons and presses, by the late merciless tyrant Oliver Cromwell, durst not be sold publicly in this kingdom, under pain of imprisonment and other intolerable damages.* 1660. Still, I do not think that the work was Salmasius's.

Having fallen upon the mention of that name, I may here add, that I do not give any extracts from his undoubted writings, (which in point of chronological order would come in properly at this place), because he is not an original witness. All his evidence was derived from the communications of others; and I wish to lay stress only on those authorities which testify of their own knowledge.

Of this kind, that is, of *original evidence, recorded at the time,* my next, and, I think, my only remaining instance, is from the famous astrologer, William Lilly.

"For the book itself," (says he), "it maintains so many contradictions unto those things manifested by his own letters, under his own hand, unto the Queen, that I conceive the most part of it *Apocrypha*. The Meditations or Psalms wholly were added by others. Some loose papers he had, I do well know: but they were nothing so well methodized; but

rather papers intended after for the press, or, as it were, a Memorial or Diary; than such a well couched piece, and to so little purpose. But it is answered by the learned Milton[3]."

I need hardly observe, that it is not for his *judgment* concerning the *Icón*, that I cite this author, but for his testimony. If the "Meditations or Psalms" (how small a portion of the work!) were the only part "wholly *added* by others:" if Lilly "well knew," (and, certain it is, he had no contemptible means of information, his very craft often ministering to him, in an extraordinary degree, in that respect;) if, I say, he "*well knew*, that *some loose papers the King had*," is it not possible, that those might be the companions and precursors of others, more compact and orderly; the first rough draughts, which were afterwards to be prepared for the press, and digested into "that well-couched piece, and to so little purpose, and answered by the learned Milton," which he has mentioned?

I adverted lately to the efforts of the Government, and the little that was effected by them. That double-tongued argument of Milton, that doubtful species of warfare, sufficiently shews, that from the first there was real confidence in neither weapon. Accordingly, the plea of forgery, which (if there had been any ground for it) would alone have been abundantly effectual, was soon abandoned, or was languidly and perfunctorily prosecuted. Cromwell's own discern-

[3] *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England.* 1651. 4to. P. 31.

ment, I doubt not, soon discovered that this pretence would not avail. The stress of the endeavour, therefore, was to run down the book by a bolder and more presumptuous affectation, by reviling, and scoffing and scorn. "Mr. Robert Sparham, of Tunstall, in the county of Suffolk, often told, that he being with his relation, the Lady Winwood, Oliver Cromwell came in, and taking in his hand a book, lying on the table, which was Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, he said, *Madam, I see you have Charles Stuart's book:* to which she replied, *My Lord, do you believe the late King to be the author of it?* To which he replied, *Yes, most certainly: for he was the greatest hypocrite in the world* [4]."

Again: I strongly incline to think, that Cromwell is the person intended, in the following words of a contemporary writer, the author of the Princely Pelican: "So a person of high command, in this imperious army, was pleased to bestow this censure upon this exquisite piece, at his very first sight of it, saying, *It was a handsome piece of hypocrisy* [5]." So, I find, in a Pamphlet of the year 1650, evidently set forth by the authority of the Government, the charge against the King and his book, is not forgery, but that it shews "his theatrical piety, and high dissimulation." The same author styles it, "*the Black Book;*" and adds, that "he writ it on purpose to abuse the people into credulity, and favor of his

[4] Wagstaffe's *Vindication*. P. 101.

[5] *The Princely Pelican*. 1649. 4to. Chap. 7.

actions, and so poison them after his death[6]." Others called the Book the "Second Part of the Legend," a "Mahometan Fiction," and the like. "Nay, to that impudence they were arrived, (says another writer,) that, (and I saw it myself,) this *Icón* was *exposed to sale, bound up with the Alcoran*[7]."

Upon the whole, then, it is abundantly certain, that nothing was effected *for* Gauden, or *against* Charles, in this first, this contemporary controversy.

When I lately intimated, that my materials of contemporary history were now exhausted, doubtless it will be understood, that I was speaking in the strict sense already explained; that is, of evidence *delivered at and about the time when the Icón was published*, by persons who speak of *their own knowledge* of the writing of it, whether by Gauden; or by the King; or by any other person; of their knowing of, and seeing the manuscript, and the like. For, if I were to extend the limits of my collections, it would be exceedingly easy[8] to produce a most nu-

[6] *Brief Narration of the plotting, beginning and carrying on of that execrable Rebellion and Butchery in Ireland*, (1641,) *with Observations, discovering the actions of the late King*. 4to. 1650. P. 48—60.

[7] *Vindiciæ Caroliniæ*, or a Defence of Icón Basilikè.

[8] The following are cited as specimens in confirmation of this assertion.

1649. *Compleat History of Independency*. By Clement Walker, Esq.

"About this time arose a phœnix out of his Majesty's ashes, that most excellent issue of his brain, entitled *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes*, &c. a book full fraught with wisdom, divine and human.....Herod and his Jews never persecuted Christ in his swaddling-clothes with more industrious malice than the anti-monarchical Independent Faction did this book in the presses and shops that should bring it forth into the world, knowing that, as the remembrance of heaven strikes a horror into us of hell, so the contemplation of his virtues will teach us to abhor their vices." Part II. p. 138, edit. 1661. See also p. 157 and 188.

merous list of authorities; and that, of persons the best informed, and of enemies, as well as friends, of the King; who, in Pamphlets, and Sermons, and Histories, and Letters, speak of, refer to, and cite

1649, May 17. *The Obstructors of Justice: or a Defence of the Sentence passed upon the late King.* By John Goodwin. 4to.

"They who magnify him for his wisdom, abuse him more than the full proportion for his wickedness. As for the book which passeth up and down by the title of *Icón Basilikè*, which strains so many men's wits to invent, so many men's consciences to exhibit, elogies of honor, admiration, astonishment, commensurable with the seraphical worth of it, whether he were the positive or only putative author of it, though some make it their great interest, yet to me it is a mere impertinency to determine. Were it the legitimate issue of his own pen only, (we know men may be skilful in limning, able to give comeliness of face and feature to their artificial productions, whose natural children, in the mean time, are full of deformity;) yet let me say this, that kings have opportunities above other men, to adorn their names and reputations with the choicest plumes of what wits, parts, or learning, almost they please, as if they were their own. By that hour's discourse or more with him, whereunto both he, I conceive, as well as myself, were rather importuned by others, than led by either of our respective desires, a few days before his death, I found an experiment of truth in that common saying,

'——Minuit præsentia famam:'

'What fame makes great, presence finds less to be.'

But, to conclude, for the blood which he shed, it is so far from being the blood of the war, that Mr. Prynne himself," &c. P. 96.

1649. *The Martyrdom of King Charles, or his conformity with Christ in his Sufferings. A Sermon preached at Breda, before his Majesty King Charles the Second, and the Princess of Orange, June* 2, 1649. By Henry, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.

"As much have these Jews raged against his Majesty's book, the issue of his divine soul, and laboured by all means to suppress it: but they can no more obscure his glory that shineth in that book, than they can obscure the sun in the firmament." P. 28.

1649. Breda, Dec. 8. *Mr. Richard Watson to Mr. William Edgman.*

"Strickland, as ambassador from England, formed into a Republic, upon his third instance, hath prevailed with the States to suppress Salmasius' book written for the King; first prohibited to be printed at Leyden, afterwards finished at Amsterdam; terming it in his memorial, a Pasquil against the Republic of England. And it is not yet determined whether it shall be burnt, or no; which he would have. There is another lately passed the press, without that danger; a confutation of our blessed Martyr King's book, in English. I have not yet seen it." Clarendon Papers, Vol. III. p. 500.

the *Icón* without hesitation, as the work of Charles, even from the moment of its publication, and (notwithstanding the deep depression of the royal cause,) during the whole of the twelve years to the Resto-

N. B. The Mr. Edgman to whom this letter is addressed, was private secretary to Sir Edward Hyde.

1649. *Elenchus Motuum*: or Rise and Progress of the late Troubles. By George Bates, M.D.

"Nevertheless by the extraordinary Providence of Almighty God, &c. a book of Meditations, or Soliloquies, saw the light," &c. P. 160. edit. 1685.

N.B. This I have given elsewhere.

1649. *Regicidium Judaicum*, a Sermon by Dr. Richard Watson, Chaplain to Lord Hopton, preached before King Charles the Second, at the Hague. 4to.

——"For all this their politic malice, our Royal Martyr hath not only the crown and trophy of a title, but the everlasting stupendous monument of a book, raised higher than the Pyramids of Egypt, in the strength of language, and well-proportioned spiring expression." P. 26.

1649. *The Subject's Sorrow: or Lamentations on the Death of Britain's Josiah, in a Sermon on Lament.* iv. 20. 4to.

——"So did our late most glorious King desire, that unto his Golden Manual might be prefixed his representation kneeling, containing a temporal, holding our blessed Saviour's crown of thorns, and aspiring unto an eternal crown of happiness." P. 19.

1649. *The Royal Legacies of Charles the First to his Persecutors and Murderers.* 4to.

(1.) "But what those Devotions were is a sacred thing, nor fit for any mortal now to relate, seeing his Majesty's own most evangelical pen hath already digested them into such Meditations, as never before him any, that was but man, hath brought to light." P. 20.

(2.) "And to the foundation of this lasting building, what better stuff can be laid than those squared and chosen stones prepared in his Majesty's most firm, most wise, most charitable, most heavenly, and most eloquent *Icón Basilikè*, that matchless Portraiture of a perfect King; that royal and most kingly legacy, given by a King to a King, by a King so able to a King so hopeful." P. 67. See also pp. 45 and 48.

1650. *Vindication of the Character and Conduct of Sir William Waller, Knight.* By Himself.

——"Nothing put the Houses of Parliament into a greater inflammation than that unhappy demand of the five members, made by the late King; which was interpreted such a horrid violation of privilege, as that although his Majesty were pleased to withdraw the prosecuting of it, and to promise a more tender respect for the time to come; yet, nevertheless, this spark, as his Majesty terms it, kindled such flames of discontent, as gave occasion," &c. P. 27. 1793. 8vo.

N. B. The reference here is to the *Icón Basilikè*. Chap. III.

1650. *A brief Narration of the beginning, &c. of the execrable Rebellion in Ireland*, 1650. 4to.

ration; a proof sufficient of what was then thought of the issue of this first stage of the controversy, Do we ask, How then is this on the other side of the question? How is this with respect to Gauden? Is

(1.) "Whosoever shall observe all his declarations, or that venomous fraudulent Pamphlet under his name, must needs see how unwilling and tender he is, when he comes to touch on this string: but instead of bringing any probable arguments to avoid it, he launcheth out whole vollies of daring curses upon himself and his; or else falls upon contrary recriminations of the Parliament, that '*the Irish might allege them for imitation*,' &c. (Icôn Basilikè, Chap. XII.) 'three lies impudently stuffed together.'" P. 49.

(2.) See also p. 50, where after quoting the Icôn, he says,

"Obdurate man, given up to thine own blindness and hardness of heart, thou couldest not have said any thing fuller of atheistical spleen, or uncharitable looseness. .....These are his latest and dying reflexions on that business."

(3.) "Or will you hear him when he was about to die? For, certainly any man that considers the choice of the subjects of the Black Book clearly, cannot but acknowledge he writ it in his later time, on purpose to abuse the people into credulity and favor of his actions, and so poison them after his death. *If I have desired or delighted in the woeful day of my kingdom's calamities*, (and yet he was the cause): *If I have not earnestly studied the preventing of those bloody distractions, then let Thy hand be upon me, and my father's house!* Which, to the great praise of the Divine Justice we see accomplished." P. 60.

1651. *Monarchy or no Monarchy in England: passages upon the Life and Death of the late King Charles.* By William Lilly, Student in Astrology. 4to.

(1.) "And therefore I wonder at that passage of his, (if it was his, which I doubt of,) in that book, published under his name, and called his Portraiture, wherein he maintains this Parliament was called as much by his own choice and inclination, as advice of others: whereas it is manifestly known even unto all, it was only necessity, and the importunity of the English, who would not fight with the Scots, and this only cause was it which gave occasion for calling of this Parliament; the Scots at that present being possessed of Newcastle." P. 80.

(2.) "In that book, called his Portraiture, he affirms, he went to the House of Commons to demand justice upon those five members, and saith, he thought he had discovered some unlawful correspondences and engagements they had made to embroil his kingdoms. He confesseth he missed but little of procuring some writings, &c. to make his thoughts good; so here is no evidence against these members but his own thoughts, as himself confesseth." P. 106.

1651. *Το ἔφορ των Μαγτυρων: A brief Narration of the Mysteries of State carried on by the Spanish Faction in England.* Printed by Samuel Brown, English Bookseller at the Hague. 4to.

"Never did King go to heaven in a greater cloud of prayers and tears than this King; and never was there greater mourning for the loss of any King than this. I think there was scarce a Protestant in the world, to whom the true relation

any thing of the kind true about him?—There is no mention of him whatever. Notwithstanding what is said by Walker of his conversing with Gauden continually on this subject, and of the pretended fre-

came, but shed tears for him. I have talked with travellers who can tell more than this, how much he was mourned for; especially when they saw his book, which is translated into all languages almost, and sent into every country." P. 90.

1651, (about.) *The Grounds and Reasons of Monarchy, exemplified in the Scotish Line:* in Harrington's Works, but said by Toland to be written by John Hall, commanded by the Council of State to attend Cromwell into Scotland.

——" And so forced him to call a Parliament: which though he shamelessly says, in the first line of the book called his, was out of his *own inclination to Parliament*, yet how well he liked them may appear by his first tampering with his own army in the North, to surprize and dissolve them." P. 31.

1652. *A full answer to William Lilly's Observations on the Life, &c. of the late King Charles.*

(1) " For your doubts whether his Majesty was Author of that incomparable Book, I shall, for full satisfaction, refer you to an excellent piece, entitled, the *Image Unbroken*, printed in the year 1651; being an exact and full refutation of all those odious imputations laid on his Majesty, and falsely deduced by the learned Milton, as you call him, from that Book." Historical Discourses by Sir Edward Walker. P. 246.

(2) " But yet all I have said cannot clear his Majesty," (in the case of the Earl of Strafford,) " who like a Christian, both in his Book, and at his death, confesses his trouble for this offence." Ibid. P. 269.

1656. *The Reign of King Charles, an History disposed into Annals.* (By Hamon L'Estrange, Esq).

" It was excellently said by another man, not by another King, *That it is a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to salve State-sores.*" P. 267.

N.B. The reference here is to *Icón Basilike.* Chap. II.

1656. *The Observator Observed*—(subjoined to the preceding History, edit. 2.)

" This man is King Charles, the very same I assure you. True it is he did—*out of a firm persuasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their rights and honour for his sake:* so are his very words." P. 12.

N.B. The reference here is to *Icón Basilikè.* Chap. IX.

1657. *Life of Archbishop Williams.* By Bishop Hacket.

" Indeed his Majesty, in his *Icón Basilikè*, doth seem to represent it as if he did not approve what he received from the four Bishops at that consultation. And I will leave such good men to his censure, rather than contradict any thing in that most pious, most ravishing Book, which deserves as much as Tully said of Crassus in his Brutus, *Ipsum melius potuisse scribere, alium ut arbitror, neminem.* Perhaps the King could have wrote better, but I think no man else in the three kingdoms. What a venomous spirit is in that serpent Milton, that black-mouthed Zoïlus, that blows his vipers' breath upon those immortal Devotions from the beginning to the end! . . . That Book, the Picture of King Charles's innocent soul, which he hath blemished with vile

quent discourse about it in Gauden's family, the effect spread no further: *if they had* a secret to keep, they succeeded in keeping it so well, that I feel a confident persuasion, in all these years, Gauden's

reproaches, will be the *Vade Mecum* of godly persons, and be always about them, like a Guardian Angel." Part II. p. 162.

1658. *Compleat History of the Life and Reign of King Charles.* By W. Sanderson, Esq. Fol.

" But although the English Lords and Scotish were earnest for a Parliament, to drive on their design, which afterwards appeared, yet the King was much inclining also to call one, which his candid and ingenuous consideration of necessity grounded upon such reasons, as himself expresseth in his most admired Treatise, his excellent Book *Icón Basilikè*, (which we hereafter shall see occasion in some particulars to mention), it being the Portraiture of his Sacred *Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, with his spiritual Meditations upon each Chapter and Occasion; written, no doubt, from the truth of a troubled soul, and indisputable to be of his own compiling. And although an industrious malignant Pen" (Milton) " hath laboured to wrest that honour from his sacred memory, he cannot fix it in likelihood upon any other person in the world; the majesty and manner of the stile only his, and unimitable by any other. None but the same sad sorrowful Soul could be able to compose so much upon several occasions so evenly concurring, but himself the true sufferer.

Besides, if you please to observe, it is not unlike the gravity of Master Hooker's style in his Ecclesiastical Polity, which the King often perused, and was a sufficient master of defence thereby; and which Book, in his last words to his children, he recommends to them to read. Nay, more; observe his public Declarations and Answers following, when other helps (very often) failed him: compare their stiles, and see how they agree in the dialect.

This Book, whilst in loose papers, (ere it was complete), and secured into his cabinet, and that being lost, was seized by the enemy at Naseby fight: but these papers happily rescued, and so came to his Majesty's hands again, who, in the end, commended them to his faithful servant, that Minister of God's word, Master Symmons, with command to see them imprinted. And his study being searched, they were by good providence secured about him in his bosom. And though the industry of the adversary had been to prevent it, the book came forth some time after the King's death, with so incredible an esteem, as that it hath since been translated into all modern tongues, but Spanish, (the Jesuits' malice and envy suppressing it there), and into all manner of *folios* for bigness. And a learned Traveller (Macedonian by birth) being here, read it over, and translated it into Greek, and carried it over beyond seas, where it was so imprinted from his copy." P. 324. See also p. 1139, &c.

1658. *A Short View of the Life and Reign of King Charles, from his Birth to his Burial.* (By Dr. Peter Heylin).

(1) " During the time of these restraints, he betook himself to meditation, and then composed that most excellent Book, entitled *Icón Basilikè*, or the Portraiture, &c.

name was never once publicly mentioned, in connection with the *Icón*. Then as for any other name, I am equally persuaded, that if any such were spoken of, it was immediately abandoned. Much conver-

The honor of his work some mercenary sticklers for the two houses of Parliament have laboured to deprive him of, and to transfer to some other, though they know not whom." P. 138.

(2) " But though he died thus in the strength of his years, he still lives in the memories of all good men; and by that most excellent Portraiture which he hath made of himself, will be preserved alive amongst all nations. The Portraiture of King Charles in his Solitudes and Sufferings will be a character of his parts and piety beyond all expressions but his own; a monument of richer metal than all the tombs of brass or marble, erected to the honor of his predecessors; which no inscription whatsoever, though in letters of gold, and engraven with a pen of diamonds, can be able to parallel." P. 162.

1659. *Examen Historicum:* or a discovery of the Mistakes, &c. in some Modern Histories. By Peter Heylin, D.D. 8vo.

" His history made much longer by incorporating into it his Majesty's most excellent Meditations and Divine Discourses, (those mentis aureæ verba bracteata) comprised in the book called *Icón Basilikè*, a book which rather ought to have been preserved by itself, like *apples of gold* in *pictures of silver*." Part II. p. 37.

1660. *The faithful yet imperfect character of a glorious King, his Country's and Religion's Martyr.* By a Person of Quality. 8vo.

(1) " In his most retired solitude, he enjoyed the best company (*i.e.* that *Christ* and a *Christian* are but one in their sufferings, and never asunder in their conversations); as may appear by his speaking Ghost, the echo of his Life and Death, his never-to-be paralleled Book, filled with those sad but sweet Meditations." P. 17.

(2) " He strove to conceal as much of himself as he could, and never unveiled himself wholly, for ostentation, but upon grounds of Piety and Honour. So he used that fine-spun piece of his Meditations (which was too rich for the grave to consume) only as his winding-sheet, not owning it till his death, nor then, but in a just vindication of himself and cause. P. 44. See also p. 11 and 21.

1660. Nov. 29. Letters patent of King Charles II., granting to R. Royston the sole privilege of printing the Works of King Charles I.

" Whereas we have received sufficient testimony of the fidelity and loyalty of our servant Richard Royston, and of the great losses and troubles which he hath sustained for his faithfulness to our Royal Father of blessed Memory, and to Ourself, in the printing and publishing of many *Messages and Papers* of our said Blessed Father, especially those most excellent *Discourses*, and Soliloquies, by the name of *Icón Basilikè*, know ye, &c. &c. we do by these presents, grant unto the said R. R. the sole printing and publishing of the said Messages, Papers, and Discourses, contained in the Book entitled *Reliquiæ Carolinæ*, and of all or any other of the Works of our said Royal Father."

sation, much mutual explanation and argument, of which we now know nothing, (unless we shall infer something of its nature from the *result*,) had, no doubt, taken place in the interval: and the result of all was, that I hesitate not to say, I express the universal sentiment, at the æra of the Restoration, when I quote the words of a rigid Presbyterian, in the year 1661, in a work actually written against Gauden, though upon another subject: "*If* that book, called Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, be the King's, which, we think, *none in their wits* doubt[9]."

We have now, therefore, reached the æra of the Restoration; and, at this moment, Gauden comes forward and prefers his claim, and supports it in the confident and striking manner which we have seen.

Now, in reference to what is to follow, and in justice to the side of Gauden, I am bound to remind your Grace, that his claim was not put forward publicly: by its very nature and object, it was, as he very well knew, "to be *kept secret*, as only fit for royal and noble breasts." Hence, there was no *public* discussion (I wish we had evidence of even any *private* enquiry and investigation), and Gauden had not the fair advantage of citing his proofs, and having them duly examined, ascertained and established, (supposing them to have stood the test,) in the open sight of the day.

Yet, in the next place, I must remark, also, that whatever in justice *ought* to have been the case, or

[9] *Covenanter's Plea against Absolvers.* 4to. P. 50.

whatever *might have* been the case, if such thorough investigation and public controversy, as we have last spoken of, had been prosecuted at the time, certain it is, in point of fact, that the public opinion underwent no material change. Gauden's name did not, nor did any other, obtain the ascendant; but whatever degree of investigation, of whatever sort there may have been, the King was left still in possession of the field. It would be easy to continue the series of citations lately adverted to, as leading from the time of the publication, up to that of the Restoration, in equal abundance afterwards; and that, both of friends and foes to the memory of Charles: important facts these assuredly, and very difficult for the partizans of Gauden satisfactorily to account for. Nor was it till a great many years after, that the question of the authorship ever became one of public controversy. Nay, not to speak of the operation upon the *public* sentiment, we do not *know*, (how much soever we may *wonder* about *Clarendon*), we do not *know*, even that any single *private* opinion was *certainly* changed, except that of the King's sons, even if that exception may be made, till more than twenty, or even more than thirty years after the publication.

Burnet's mind, no doubt, would be called to the subject, by what was said to him from the Duke of York in 1673, and Lord Anglesey's, by that which was said (if any thing was said,) to him, by the two royal brothers in 1675. Some additional attention, and of a more public nature, would be awakened,

by the discovery, real or pretended, of Millington the auctioneer in 1686; but it was not till 1691 and 1692, that the question, (after the first discussions, immediately subsequent to the publication,) can be said to have been generally and publicly disputed. Then, indeed, (which may be called the *second stage* of this controversy,) the debate burst forth with great vehemence. Evidence was alleged on both sides. Every thing was collected and sifted, which the great distance of time from the events would allow: namely, fifty years from the alleged commencement of the work, and not less than forty-two from the time of its publication. The controversy was prosecuted with considerable acrimony on both sides: and some of the usual faults of such kind of controversy were apparent. Especially, I may take this occasion to remark, there was a great share of almost every fault which controversy could call into action, on the side of Charles's adversaries; Toland, the pseudonymous Pamphleteer, under the title of General Ludlow, and the like. I am willing to believe that their object was truth: but this does not preclude us from wishing, that *their* side of the question had obtained more able, that is, more candid, more acute, and more industrious advocates. For I do not suppose, that controversy and truth ever suffer by the moral and intellectual qualifications of the writers on either side.

On the part of Gauden, I have already given all the evidence that I have been able to collect entire. No fresh accessions were made. His testimonies

are limited to his own, that of his wife, and that of Dr. Walker. I know of nothing that can be alleged, which I have not alleged for him [1].

But the industry of the King's friends brought out abundance more on his side. And to that, therefore, it will be fit that I beg next to invite your Grace's attention.

We traced the manuscript, it will be remembered, as far as to the battle of Naseby, in June, 1645; and, it is well known, that we hear of it again from the Gaudens, or rather from all parties, at the treaty in the Isle of Wight, in September, 1648. But it is a fair subject of enquiry, What became of the King's alleged undertaking in this interim? Do we hear no more of it? Is there a total silence for three years, till the Book starting at once into maturity, is presented through the hands of Duppa and the Mar-

[1] Perhaps I cannot have a more suitable place than the present, for inserting an extract from Whiston's Memoirs. "It might be about this year, 1734, also, that Dr. Knight, late Archdeacon of Berkshire, lent me Bishop Patrick's Account of his own Life, written with his own hand, which I very well knew, and ending with his birth-day, when he was eighty years old; which birth-day the Bishop had long kept after a most religious manner. Why this *Life* is not hitherto published I do not know. He was in the old war-time a great royalist, and therefore under no temptation to deny, as he does here, that King Charles the First was the original author of the *Icón Basilikè*, had he not been fully satisfied that it was not of his writing. Though I take it to be undeniable, that the King highly approved, and frequently corrected the copy with his own hand, till it truly expressed the sense of his own mind, and so was his true *Portraiture*, as the title signifies it to be. Another thing I remember there is in Bishop Patrick's Account of himself, &c. &c. I read this manuscript four times over; so I can be positive of the truth of these two things." Vol. I. p. 353.

It is to be regretted that Whiston does not give us the Bishop's own words, nor tell us whether the book was ascribed to Gauden. Patrick's is a name deserving of great respect; but we cannot lay any very special stress upon his authority, so long as we are totally ignorant of the grounds and reasons upon which he speaks; whether of his *own knowledge*, or from *probability*, or from Gauden's, &c. *testimony*.

quis of Hertford; then and there, according to the Gaudenian account, seen and heard of for the first time, by the King, at the treaty at Newport? Let the following history stand in reply to these questions.

(A) One gentleman, shortly after the battle of Naseby, saw the King writing, and his Majesty being suddenly called away, gave the witness an opportunity to read what was written; and he declared it to be a part of the seventh chapter of the *Icôn Basilikè*, *On the Queen's departure out of England.*"

(B) A Nottinghamshire clergyman, Dr. Rhodes,

(A) One gentleman, shortly after the defeat at Naseby, who is reported, by the author whom I cite, (Mr. Young, of Plymouth,) to "be of great age, and no less fame at home and abroad for his many learned writings: but I have not the liberty (continues my author,) to name him during his life, for reasons he only knoweth; but the learned Dr. Mawdar, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London, now dwelling in St. Martin's-Lane, near Leicester-Fields, heard that learned gentleman tell me, that *while he attended the King in the civil wars, he had an opportunity to peruse part of that chapter in the Royal Icôn*, On the Queen's Departure, &c. *newly written by the King.* He told me he saw him writing on the paper: and a sudden occasion calling him from it, gave this gentleman, (perhaps too curious,) opportunity to read what his Majesty was writing. He told me many particulars of the accident: among them one was that this happened soon after the defeat at Naseby: and we both concurred in our conjectures, that his Majesty having lost the manuscript in which those thoughts had been set down, was now recollecting them, while fresh in his memory*."

(B) A few months after the battle, (viz. in October, 1645,) the King made a forced journey from Newark to Oxford. His guide, we are told, in this journey, was Dr. Rhodes, the Incumbent of Haughton and Thorpe, near Newark, a steady loyalist, and much confided in, and beloved by the King. This Dr. Rhodes, we are assured, (both by Dr. Hollingworth and Mr. Wagstaffe,) on the joint authority of his widow, and of his son, repeatedly declared, in their hearing, that having been with the King from the time of his leaving Newark, to his going to the Isle of Wight, where likewise he attended him, he had, at several times, and in several places, seen and read those parts of the King's book, which he then drew up, written with the King's own hand†.

* Young's *Several Evidences*. P. 22. 1703. 4to.

† Hollingworth's *Death of King Charles*. 1608. Signat. b. Wagstaffe's *Vindication*. P. 90.

who was much in the confidence of his Sovereign, and was in attendance upon him, from the month of October of the same year (1645), till his confinement in the Isle of Wight, repeatedly declared, that he had at several times, and in several places, seen and read those parts of the King's book, which he then drew up, written with his own hand.

The next stage in the King's melancholy history, is his detention at Holdenby.

(c) Dr. Dillingham, afterwards Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, read, in the King's closet, while his Majesty was at dinner, several sentences of a paper newly written; and declared, after the *Icon* came out, that he found there the very same

(c) Another important stage in the King's mournful history, is his detention under the Parliament Commissioners at Holdenby. At that time, probably in the month of February or March, 1647, Dr. Dillingham, afterwards Master of Emmanuel College, having gone from Cambridge to visit a nobleman, (Lord Montague,) there in attendance upon the King, "While his Majesty was at dinner, (the account is taken from a Letter of the Rev. Thomas Dillingham,) one of the bed-chamber shewed my father the King's closet, wherein was his library and papers. While he was there, he that was with him was accidentally called away; when my father, seeing a black box on the table, that was locked, but not very close, spied a corner of a paper hanging out, and took the boldness to draw it so far out, as that he could read several sentences. It was newly written in a fair hand, which he judged to be the King's own: and he told me, when he read the King's book in print, he found in one chapter the very same things, word for word, (as far as he could remember,) with that manuscript paper. What chapter the King was then writing of, I cannot tell; neither did I ever ask my father. But if I may conjecture of it, at this distance, I should guess it might be that wherein he complains of being deprived of his chaplains: for, while my father was there, the Parliament sent down some chaplains of their own to attend upon him. Thus, Sir, you have what I can recollect concerning this matter*."

In a subsequent work, Hollingworth informs us, that the above account had been "very lately confirmed to him, by the Rev. Mr. Saunderson, late Fellow of Emmanuel College, to whom Dr. Dillingham did tell it more than once †."

* Hollingworth's *Character of King Charles the First*. 1692. 4to. P. 7.

† Hollingworth's *Death of King Charles the First*. 1693. 4to. Signat. a 3.

things, word for word, (so far as he could remember), as he had thus read at Holdenby.

(D) On the 4th of June, 1647, the King was forcibly carried away from that place by a party of soldiers, under the command of Cornet Joyce. Together with other stipulations, previous to his removal, his Majesty required that his trunks and papers should not be rifled and tumbled. And the author from whom I derive this account adds, "Here were parcels of his *Icón Basilikè*, and some other choice pieces, as was known since."

(E) I have already mentioned the important statement of Sir Jeremy Whichcott having transcribed seventeen chapters of the book, when it was lent to him by Major Huntington, in its way to the King from General Fairfax.

(F) On the 11th of November, in the same year

(D) A chronicler, whose history was first published in the year 1663, gives the following account of a portion of the parley which took place between the King, and Cornet Joyce and the soldiers, on his seizure at Holdenby. "His Majesty concluded, *I have these questions to put to you, which if you grant I will go with you.*

"First, *That he might have no violence offered his person.* To which they altogether shouted and cried, *None, none.* Secondly. *He desired that his trunks and papers might not be rifled and tumbled.* (Here were parcels of his *Icón Basilikè*, and some other choice pieces, as was known since.) They promised to set a guard upon them, and that they should not be touched. Thirdly, *He required such servants to attend him against whom there were no just exceptions*[*]." Accordingly, the King was carried from Holdenby, June 4, 1647; after which he was removed to and fro with the army, till his arrival at Hampton Court, on the 26th August.

(E) See p. 91.

(F) The King, before he fled from Hampton Court, which was November 11, 1647, had, according to our former accounts, recovered the Naseby copy. It was natural, that after such an event, he should wish the chapters contained in that copy, and those which he had written subsequently, to be brought together; perhaps to be transcribed,

[*] *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 180. edit. 1676. fol.

(1647) the King fled from Hampton Court. Previously to this flight, two persons, recommended for the service by Bishop Juxon, at the desire of the King, sat up several nights to assist in methodizing the papers of the *Icón Basilikè*, all written with the King's own hand.

(G) In his long and dreary confinement, at Caris-

and arranged in their order of time in their several subjects; in one volume. Accordingly, my next testimony informs us, that for some such purpose, he applied to Bishop Juxon; who procured for that service, the father of Sir John Brattle, who was assisted therein by his son, then a youth of about nineteen years of age; and who gave the following account of this their employment to Dr. Hollingworth.

"I was, not many weeks ago," (says the Doctor), "in conversation with Sir John Brattle, a worthy person, and who hath long enjoyed a considerable office in the Royal Mint: with whom discoursing about King Charles I., and particularly of the suspicions raised of the truth of the book, he frankly told me, and assured me the truth of this story:

"That in the year 1647, King Charles having drawn up the most considerable parts of this book, and having writ it in some loose papers at different times, desired Bishop Juxon to get some friend of his, whom he could commend to him as a trusty person, to look it over, and to put it into an exact method. The Bishop pitched upon Sir John's father, whom he had been acquainted withal for many years; who undertaking the task, was assisted by this his son, who declares that he sat up with his father some nights, to assist him in methodizing these papers, all writ with the King's own hand. Thanks be to God, Sir John is yet alive, and is ready to give the same accounts to any man that asks him*."

Sir John, it appears, after giving this information, and professing this readiness to answer applications, was so teized with correspondents, through the medium of the penny-post, that he seems almost to have repented of having had his name introduced into this controversy. But, "at this," (says Dr. Hollingworth coolly,) "I was not so much concerned; because I thought it an honor to Sir John to have any hand in vindicating his old master†."

(G) Our next removal is to Carisbrook Castle: and there the King, during his long and dreary confinement, had leisure to occupy himself much in this interesting labour. There is very strong evidence that Colonel Hammond, his keeper, and one of his judges at his trial, repeatedly declared his conviction that the book was the King's. The following is under the hand of "John Wight, Esq. who, when living, dwelt at the seat

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* *Hollingworth's Defence of King Charles I.* 1692. 4to. P. 39.

† *Hollingworth's Defence of Icón Basilikè.* 1692. 4to. P. 7.

brook, the King had leisure to devote a large portion of time to this interesting labour. Colonel Hammond, his keeper, declared that he found in the King's chamber there, many sheets of the *Icón* in the King's own hand-writing: and "which" (said he) "I have at this time by me."

(H) On another occasion, the same Hammond expressed himself thus to the Regicide Ludlow;

of his family, called Katterine Hill, near Guildford: and he was Recorder of that town.

"*Soon after King Charles I. was beheaded, Lieutenant-General Hammond, the same who was the King's keeper at Carisbrook Castle, living at By-fleet, in the county of Surrey, at a publick meeting of divers Justices of the Peace of that county, at the Red Lion at Guildford, upon a discourse which happened among them, concerning the* Icôn Basilikè, *whether the King was really the author of that book, the said Hammond did there say and declare to this effect:* Nay, I must do him the right to say, that the book was undoubtedly his: for, when I had the order for viewing and searching his papers," (this was in March 1648, six months before the journey of the Marquis of Hertford, and Bishop Duppa), "I found amongst them many sheets of the rough draught of that book in his own hand-writing, which I have at this time by me. *This I heard the said Hammond declare, and am ready to attest it upon oath, if required.*

"JOHN WIGHT*."

(H) Again. "*Lieutenant-General Ireton coming from the siege of Limerick, after the death of King Charles I., in company with Colonel Ludlow, Colonel Hammond, and several other officers of the then army, at dinner in the town of Cashel in the county of Tipperary, a discourse happening concerning the said King Charles, Ludlow took occasion to express himself to this purpose:* Do you see how these poor fellows the Cavaliers, when they cannot serve their master any other way, they put out a book in his name as if he were the author of it, which they call *Icón Basilikè:* but God knows he had neither piety nor parts to write such a book as that is. *Colonel Hammond presently replied upon him,* Nay, Colonel, according to the old English proverb, Give the devil his due. Part of that book, if not the whole, was writ when he was my prisoner in Carisbrook Castle; where I am sure he had nothing but a Bible, pen, ink, and paper: and going to call him out of his closet to dinner, which I always did, I found him still a-writing; and staying behind to see what he writ, the paper being still wet with ink, I read at several times most of that book, which now bears that title.

"Captain Adam Molineux," (continues Wagstaffe) "was then at the table, and hath often related the same thing. And this comes to me from Captain Phillips, who mar-

* *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 100.

"Nay, Colonel, according to the old English proverb, *Give the devil his due*. Part of that book, if not the whole, was written when he was my prisoner in Carisbrook Castle; where I am sure he had nothing but a Bible, pen, ink, and paper: and going to call him out of his closet to dinner, which I always did, I found him still a writing; and staying behind, to see what he writ, the paper being still wet with ink, I read, at several times, most of that book."

(1) About this time, the King, in acknowledgment of services received, made a present of a Bible. In this book were many verses marked with a pen, especially in the book of Psalms. The gentleman (Mr. Anthony Mildmay) to whom the gift was made, concluding this was the King's own doing, compared the Bible with the verses cited, or referred to in the *Icón*, after its publication. "I found" (says he) "they did exactly agree. I have the Bible to show, and can give any man satisfaction."

ried Captain Molineux's daughter, and hath often heard this from his father-in-law: and, besides, seen it under his own hand; and will depose it, if there be occasion. And his lady, Captain Molineux's daughter, hath oft heard her father discourse as above; and will give her oath, not only that she heard it from him, but hath seen it attested under his own hand †."

(1) Anthony Mildmay was another person, no friend of the King, placed over him, at Carisbrook, by the Parliament. But, he being to be removed, the King, (as Mildmay declared to Mr. Ambrose Mildmay, at Much-Baddow in Essex, in 1653 or 1654), said to him, "I thank you for your kindness, and would willingly give you something whereby to remember me." Whereupon, he put into his hands a Bible, in which were a great many verses, marked with a pen, more especially in the book of Psalms. "Concluding this was his Majesty's own doing,"," (said Mildmay), "I compared those marked verses with his Majesty's Meditations in the *Icón*, and they did exactly agree. I have the Bible to shew, and can give any man satisfaction *."

* *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 99.

† *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 98.

(K) Again: The Manuscript was seen, during several days, by Wade, a captain of the Parliament army. And, being converted by that sight, he gave up his commission, saying, "he would no longer be such a Prince's gaoler."

(L) Sheets of it were found pinned up, under the

(K) Dr. Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester, communicated the following, under his own hand, to Dr. Hollingworth: "and I have a commission" (says the Doctor) "from the Bishop to present it to the world.

"About twenty-eight years since, I received the following account from Mrs. Keighley of Albro-Hatch, in Barking parish in Essex,

"That she had a servant who went from her into the Parliament army, and was made a captain; who giving her a visit some time before the murder of the King, told her, *that he had laid down his commission;* and she demanding the reason, *Why*, he replied, *That his conscience would no longer permit him to keep it.* She again asking him, *What it was that dissatisfied him?* he replied, *That whereas he had been made to believe, that the King was a very bad man, he was now abundantly assured that he was an excellent good man.* She enquiring, *What induced him to think so well of the King*, he told her, *That he was appointed to stand every morning at his bed-chamber door, when he was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight; and observing for several days after he was set at his post that the King went into his closet quickly after he was drest, and there staid a considerable time, and then went down into the garden, and walked there a pretty while; and perceiving that he still left the key in his closet door, he adventured to go in; and found that he had been penning most devout and pious Meditations and prayers, which he fell to reading; and read on, till he saw the King return into the walk that leads towards his chamber (for the closet window looked into the garden.)* And thus he, the said Captain, did for several mornings after; and read from time to time the King's morning's work, till he came to a resolution no longer to be such a Prince's gaoler. Mrs. Keighley further told me, that he gave such an account of these Meditations and Prayers, that she was confident they were printed in *Icón Basilikè*, after she came to read that book.

"This Mrs. Keighley was a very religious and pious gentlewoman, and as discreet and prudent.

"This I attest, "EDWARD FOWLER, D.D.*."

"*June* 15, 1601."

(L) Again: We are told, in reference to much the same period of time with the preceding, and the information comes from Robert Gunn, his servant, that Mr. Serjeant Browne, who was one of the Parliament Commissioners at the Newport treaty, and afterwards one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, declared in his hearing, to a com-

* *Hollingworth's Defence of Icón Basilikè*, p. 22. Compare *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 98. The Captain's name was Wade.

hangings of the King's chamber at Carisbrook, written in his own hand.

(M) And Reading, one of his pages, appointed by the Parliament, declared that he had often seen his

pany at his own table, "that when the King one morning, during his confinement in Carisbrook Castle, was taking his walk in the garden, he and others, knowing he was a very early riser, and yet sat up late in the nights, they, wondering what he did, diligently searched his chamber, and in searching, one lifted up the hangings *, where they found pinned up, sheet by sheet, within the hangings, next the wall, many sheets of his book, written with the King's hand †."

(M) I am unwilling to omit any thing that may be considered important; and, therefore, I give the following, as it was dictated to the Reverend Mr. Bell, by Mrs. Fertherley of Rickmansworth, daughter of Sir Ralph Whitfield, and grand-daughter to Sir Henry Spelman.

"That she hath often heard Colonel James Prodger, who was Governor of Abergavenny in the time of Charles I. say, that Mr. Reading, an enemy of the King, who by the order of Parliament attended him, in the place of some of his servants whom they had dismissed, did tell Colonel Prodger and others, that he did admire the King for his wonderful parts; and that he had often seen him writing several parts of the *Icon Basilikè*, and when he was tired with writing he would sit down, or walk about the room, and dictate to him whom he desired to write for him: and he added, that such expressions fell from him, and with so much ease and readiness, that, to use his own words, it made his hair stand on end, in admiration, to hear him.

"I need observe nothing from this testimony," (says Wagstaffe,) "only that Mr. Reading was page of the back stairs to the King, when he was prisoner at Carisbrook, and the same Mr. Reading, who let in Colonel Hammond into the King's bed-chamber, to give him opportunity to search the King's scrutoire for letters and papers." (See *Herbert's Memoirs*, p. 79‡.)

We are now drawing near the time of the arrival of the Marquess of Hertford and Bishop Duppa, to attend upon the King at the treaty; upon which occasion, his Majesty removed from Carisbrook Castle to the town of Newport, (Sept. 5, 1648).

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* The probability of this circumstance is strongly confirmed by the particulars which Mr. Henry Firebrace gives of the method by which, in the same apartment, he found means of holding conversations with his Majesty. "I made a slit or chink through the walls, behind the hanging, which served as well as the opening of the door, and was more safe; for, upon the least noise, by letting fall the hanging, all was well. By this means we had opportunities to discourse often." *Firebrace's Letter to Sir George Lane, dated Whitehall, July* 21, 1675, *in Herbert's, &c. Memoirs*, p. 10.

† *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 90.

‡ *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 108.

Majesty writing the *Icón Basilikè*. That when the King was tired of writing, he would sit down, or walk about the room; and dictate what he desired to be written. Reading added, that such expressions fell from him, and with so much ease and readiness, "that" (to use his own words) "it made his hair stand on end, in admiration, to hear him."

(N) Again: A letter of the King has been published, which, it is conjectured, relates to the preparing the manuscript for the press.

Now, my Lord, it is of the utmost consequence that we bear in mind, that this whole chain of sundry, various, independent, yet consistent testimonies, hitherto enumerated, is every particle of it prior to the time when Gauden says that he sent down the Manuscript to the Isle of Wight, by the hands of the Marquess of Hertford. And till now,

(N) But, before we leave Carisbrook, I shall take the liberty of inserting a short letter from the King, which Wagstaffe conjectures may relate to the *Icón Basilikè*.

It is in the King's own hand; dated *Thursday Night, August* 31, 1648. The numerals 48, denote the person (unknown) to whom it was addressed; 39 is the King himself; and N. is Mrs. Whorwood.

"48,

"*This inclosed to N. is chiefly to have an account from her of those papers that I left with her this day. And because I know she has desired your assistance therein, I pray you to take care to point them well; and be sure to put the interlinings in the right places.*

"39."

"This," (says Wagstaffe) "is no direct proof, because it is not mentioned in the letter *what* papers these were: but it is very probable they were the *Icón Basilikè*: because it does not appear that the King at that time had any thing else that he designed to publish *."

I do not cite this as any thing more than mere conjecture: and because, by possibility, the production of the letter may lead, in some quarter, to the confirmation or the confutation of Wagstaffe's opinion.

* *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 102.

therefore, we have not a single word, all is a perfect blank on the side of Gauden.—On the other hand, what can be imagined more incredible than that we should possess all this circumstantial evidence on the side of the King, without any foundation of truth for its existence?

(o) But it is about this time that mention is made of the work, by Mrs. Gauden, in connexion with the name of Lord Capel.—What kind of mention, therefore, is it? Truly, so far from being any counterpoise to all our former, and all this additional, testimony which we have just heard, on the side of the King, it bears quite the other way; and tends, not a

(o) But, before we get to the treaty, we hear previously of Gauden's Manuscript, from Mrs. Gauden in another quarter. It will be remembered, that, in her Narrative, she told us, "*When my husband had writ the* Ἰοὰν Βασιλικὲ, *he shewed it to my Lord Capel, who did very highly approve of it; and though he thought it would do very well to have it printed, yet he said it was not fit to do so, without his Majesty's approbation: and to come to speak to his Majesty in private, was then impossible, in regard of the strict guard they kept about him.* Immediately after this there was a treaty with his Majesty at the Isle of Wight, *whereupon my husband went to my Lord Marquess of Hertford, that then was, and to him delivered the manuscript.*"

The testimony of such a man as Lord Capel, in confirmation of this statement, would have been of the utmost importance; and we should have been disposed to have given to it every possible degree of credit. But the above account, it is certain, rests solely upon the authority of Mrs. Gauden; and I cannot but wish that she had been rather more communicative, with respect to the time, place, and circumstances of this intercourse between Lord Capel, and the Dean of Booking. Take the lady at her word; understand the circumstances which she *has* imparted, according to any ordinary acceptation of the terms; and then, I do not scruple to say, that the interview spoken of is exceedingly improbable; almost (I might say), *morally*; indeed, I think, I might nearly maintain it to be *physically impossible*. *Immediately after*, she tells us *was the treaty*. Now, the siege of Colchester, may be considered as having commenced about the 14th or 15th of June. There Lord Capel was closely invested, till the time of its surrender, August 27: engaged in a most severe service, in which I verily believe, that Gauden, with all the zeal for the royal cause of which he boasts, and all the perils which, he says, he was willing to undergo, and did undergo, in its behalf, had no desire to participate, and did not participate. From Colchester, Lord Capel was carried close prisoner, through London, to Windsor Castle, where he arrived on or about

little, to shake any faith we might have, in the story of the Gaudens. She tells us of an interview and consultation between Lord Capel and her husband, on the subject of the *Icón*, which could not have taken place.

(P) And now, again, indeed, we hear a *second* time

September 9, much at the same time when the several parties were assembling for the treaty at Newport. During the three months we have now accounted for, there could be no meeting, for any such purpose as that which is pretended, between Lord Capel and Gauden.

I would not intimate as any additional difficulty, that we know nothing of any acquaintance, much less of any intimacy between Lord Capel and Gauden; nor do I allude to this circumstance for any other purpose, than to add, that we *do* know that there was a close intimacy between Lord Capel and another Clergyman, Mr. Edward Symmons; of whose connexion with Gauden, and with the *Icón Basilikè*, we have already heard something, and shall soon have to hear a great deal more: so much, indeed, that perhaps, sooner or later, some unlucky suspicion may arise, that the good lady has here made a slight mistake; and that the dialogue of which she speaks, or certain dialogues respecting the *Icón*, may have been between Lord Capel and Mr. Symmons, and not between Lord Capel and her husband.

(P) Again. We must yet say something more of this manuscript of the Gaudens, before we can get it fairly into the King's possession at Newport. There are, we find, some who will say, that Gauden had never much more to do, with the *Icón Basilikè*, than that he once interested himself a good deal in *taking a copy* of it.

"This appears" (Mr. Wagstaffe boldly ventures to affirm,) "from a letter which I have now in my hands, of Mr. Le Pla, Minister of Finchingfield, to Dr. Goodall*. This letter bears date, November 26, 1696, and the passages in it that concern this matter are as follows:

"William Allen was born in this neighbourhood, where sundry of his relations have lived with good credit. He had two uncles, tradesmen in London; one of them a draper, to whom he was an apprentice: but upon the breaking out of the civil wars, he shut up shop, and his kinsman, William, sometime after, was servant to Dr. Gauden for several years, and at last married one of his family, who is still alive, and tells me, Dr. Walker lived there part of the time with them, and went thence to my Lord of Warwick's. Her late husband, Allen, collected tythes for me the two first years

* Finchingfield is about six miles from Booking; and Wethersfield is about a mile and a half nearer to it. The distance between Raine Church and Booking Church, does not, I think, exceed a mile and a half.

of the manuscript, in connexion with the Gauden family.—But what kind of hearing is *this* also? It is nothing less than a very intelligent, curious, and consistent account of Gauden having borrowed the book, and sat up a whole night, in order to transcribe it.

after my coming hither, by which means I afterwards received several visits from him, wherein he would talk much of his Master Gauden, and the many messages he had been sent upon in the night, between the doctor and his family, in those times of difficulty; the dangers he had incurred on his account, having more than once saved him from being robbed, and been wounded in his defence; once particularly by a pistol-shot in the face, whereof he carried the scar to his grave. About ten years ago he had some small estate befallen him in Wethersfield, a town about a mile and a half from this place, upon which he lived the rest of his days; and died there in May last, in good and honest repute, for any thing I ever could hear to the contrary. I beg your pardon for troubling you with this long story, which might seem impertinent, if it did not shew the great confidence the doctor reposed in him, and the reason he had to do so. But that which is more to the purpose, and which I am ready to make oath of, if desired, is,

"*That this William Allen coming one day to see me, and after dinner being alone with me, I fell into discourse with him about Dr. Gauden, and the King's book. He said most people thought his Master to be the author of it, or to have had the chief hand in it, or to that purpose. I told him I could never believe it; for some reasons I then gave him. Whereupon he smiled, and told me, he believed he could say more to that business than any man besides him: for, that Dr. Gauden told him he had borrowed the book, and was obliged to return it by such a time: that, besides what other time he might employ in it, he sate up one whole night to transcribe it: that he, William Allen, sate up in the chamber with him, to wait upon him, to make his fires, and snuff his candles.* This I am ready to depose, if required."

May I be permitted to interrupt the course of this narrative, merely to have the pleasure of constructing a couple of sentences here, upon the model of Mr. Laing?

"This then which Gauden transcribed, was the only true *Icón*. At the distance of fourteen years, he converts it, without scruple, into a work of his own. Which should teach historians, how easily they have been induced to take up with *any* evidence *against* the authority of the *Icón*; and what melancholy proofs they exhibit of human weakness, wherever their *religious*, *political*, or *national* prejudices intervene."

"I thank thee, Jew, for teaching me that word."

"I think he said, (continues Mr. Le Pla,) this book was borrowed of Mr. Symmons of Raine, one of the King's Chaplains: but, it being some time ago, I cannot be so positive in that, and several other circumstances, as I should have been, had I sus-

These, my Lord, are strong points: and we naturally enquire, therefore, "What is said on the *other side?* Where are Toland, and the rest? Where are they, who in later times have assailed the claim of the King; Or those others, who, with entire self-satisfaction, have thrown it up as indefensible? Men, who going into the market on the trading stock of their own ignorance, which costs them nothing, hope to make from an ill-informed and prejudiced vulgar, large profits of reputation for a singular degree of candor and judgment?—These gentlemen are

pected *his* death so nigh, which happened before I heard of his sickness: but he being a vigorous healthy man, always able to speak for himself, I did not then think it necessary to take notes of what he said, to whom recourse might be had at any time. That which makes it very probable that Dr. Gauden had the book from Mr. Simmons, is the near neighbourhood and great familiarity which, I am told, was between them. One thing I had forgot, namely, that, to my knowledge, Allen could read and write very well; and so could not easily be deceived, either in the book, or in his Master's hand, though the doctor had not told him that it was none of his. Thus far Mr. Le Pla."

There is another authority, which has some degree of bearing upon this very important testimony. The Rev. Robert Rogers, of Braxtead, near Witham, Essex, and nephew of Mr. Symmons, declared his belief, "that Dr. Gauden borrowed the King's book in manuscript from Mr. Symmons, of Raine, and transcribed it; and this, (says he,) Mr. Allen, Dr. Gauden's *quondam* servant, who was an eye-witness thereof, hath often declared in my hearing *."

[s] This is not strictly true with respect to Mr. Laing. In the Notes on his History of Scotland, that gentleman has made observations on several points of the evidence on the side of the King: yet nothing that I perceive, which, after due consideration, leads me to abandon the declarations here given, that I know of nothing affecting the substantial truth of any portion of our testimonies. Mr. Laing, after lamenting that the evidence for the authenticity of the *Icón* affords a melancholy proof of the fallacy of human testimony, wherever the religious, the political, or national prejudices of men intervene, has said:

"In fact the direct evidence for the authenticity of the *Icón* consists *only of three*

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* Young's *Several Evidences*, &c. 1703. 4to. P. 8.

all silent[5]. Either they knew nothing of these things, or they find themselves able, with great composure, to pass them by unnoticed.—These, my Lord, (I repeat it), are strong points: and unless they be replied to, and accounted for, I must maintain that they are *decisive*. Now, certain it is, that I am in possession of no answer, that *has been* given, (and yet I have taken some pains to search); no direct answer that has been given to these testimonies, in any degree affecting their substantial truth: and, further, I know of none that *can* be given, that so affects them. If I knew either the one or the other, my knowledge should be imparted.

witnesses;" viz. Huntington, Herbert, and Levet. He further declares, "When the direct evidence *amounts to nothing*, the hearsay reports, which multiply the manuscripts, and the persons who received them, to an indefinite number, are *unworthy of regard*." I may give as a specimen of his observations, the solution which he has devised in the case of Allen, lately adverted to.

"But the chief evidence for the authenticity of the *Icón*, is Le Pla's declaration, (Wagstaffe's *Vind.* 64.) that one Allen, his tithe-gatherer, told him, that Gauden told him, that he had borrowed the book, which he was obliged to return by a certain time; and that Gauden, therefore, sat up all night to transcribe the book, while Allen attended to snuff the candles, and mend the fire: and Le Pla thinks, but is not positive, that Allen said it was borrowed from Symmons. In those times of suspicion and danger, Gauden undoubtedly would conceal from Allen, that the book which he transcribed in such haste was his own, and would pretend that it was borrowed to be immediately restored: but this is no more a proof that the book was actually borrowed from Symmons, than the letters patent, that the *Icón* is genuine, because it is enumerated among the King's works. Symmons living in London, would not have trusted the King's Image when in haste to print it, to Gauden, in Essex." If evidence, "the chief evidence," as he calls it, is to be treated in this way, surely it would have been better to have denied altogether, that there was any foundation at all for Le Pla's declaration. And this, indeed, is done by Mr. Toland. "Nor is it credible, that Dr. Gauden, whether he meant a fraud or not, should give an account of his studies, much less discover the secret of his book, for no reason in the world, to never so trusty a servant, especially to one that was to look after his fire, and snuff his candles." *Amynor.* P. 234.

And; I may observe, by the way, that I wish to have this same declaration applied to all the evidences which I have produced in this long historical detail. If I discover any answer that *has been*, or *can be* given, substantially affecting any of these testimonies, I will not withhold it.

The treaty being begun, the King, according to the accounts on Gauden's side, was now in possession of the book; and it was read to him, they tell us, by Bishop Duppa; and he conferred with the Bishop and the Marquess of Hertford about it: "he also graciously accepted, owned and adopted it, as his sense and genius, not only with great approbation, but admiration." So says Gauden. And so, in effect, though with some very silly additions, respecting the King wishing to have it put out, in some other person's name, says Mrs. Gauden. And though Dr. Walker gives quite a different account, as regards the participation of the King, yet upon that we will not insist, at the present. This is the Gaudenian history. First and last, this is pretty much the whole of their history:—the Life (I do not venture to add, and *Death*) of an *Ephemeron*.

But, to be serious. I do not want to insist much upon *negatives*; yet, surely, I may ask, "Do we not feel a *craving* for something more on that side?" Would it not have been a satisfaction, a comfortable confirmation of our confidence, to have heard from some other quarter, some tidings of the birth, nurture, and fortunes, some whisper, at least, of the

journey and of the reception of this precious gift; and not merely from Dr. Gauden, and Mrs. Gauden, and poor Dr. Walker? The King was not deficient in owning his obligations, as we have lately had an opportunity of seeing, in the case of Anthony Mildmay. Dr. Gauden could display his silver tankard from the Parliament. Had the King no means of sending him, on *his* part, some token of a correspondent affectionate gratitude: a mere letter of thanks, (without expressing for what;) some slight, private memorial of acknowledgement for the services of a faithful and affectionate subject; "without putting the world upon any dangerous curiosity," the "prudence" of avoiding which, Dr. Gauden (little consistent as this is with Walker's account of his *own* knowledge and that of *others*, and of the perpetual talk of the family on the subject,) was as much prepared to acknowledge as any man[6]. Had the Marquess of Hertford no other commission to carry back to the expecting Divine, than such as this: "What is become of the manuscript I know not; and what will become of his Majesty, God knows?"—But, we own, that the matter required privacy and "prudence." Therefore, I complain of no deficiencies. All that is intended is, that I should have set it down for great gain, if it had happened to be otherwise. *Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur.*

We are not without testimonies, however, on the other side, relating to these periods.

[6] *Clarendon Papers.* Vol. III. P. xcvii. Appendix.

(Q) Royston, the publisher, was sent to by the King about the beginning of October, to prepare for printing some papers to be transmitted to him from his Majesty.

(R) We have several testimonies of Levet, a page of the bed-chamber.

One, that the King having often seen him reading the manuscript, said to him, "Sure, Levet, you do design to get this book by heart."

(Q) Royston, the great Royalist Publisher, declared that he was sent to about the beginning of October, 1648, by his Majesty, to prepare all things ready for the printing some papers, which he purposed shortly after to cause to be conveyed to him: which papers were the *Icón Basilikè*, brought to him on the 23d of December, by Mr. Symmons *. If it be urged, that this circumstance may apply equally well to either of the two manuscripts of which so much has been said; we do not contend; we will forbear to insist upon this at present; and may proceed to some other authorities, which appertain solely to the King's side of the argument:

(R) Several testimonies of Levet, the King's faithful page of the bed-chamber, written with his own hand, are exceedingly important.

The first is from the original, then in possession of his son, a Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

"If any one has a desire to know the true author of a book, entitled *Icón Basilikè*, I, one of the servants of King Charles the First, in his bed-chamber, do declare, when his said Majesty was prisoner in the Isle of Wight, that I read over the above-mentioned book, (which was long before the said book was printed,) in his bed-chamber, writ with his Majesty's own hand, with several interlinings. Moreover, his Majesty, King Charles the First, told me, *Sure, Levet, you do design to get this book by heart*, having often seen me reading of it. I can testify also, that Royston the printer told me, that he was imprisoned by Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, because he would not declare that King Charles the First was not the author of the said book.

"Signed and sealed October 16, 1690." "WILLIAM LEVET †."

* Dugdale's *Short View*. P. 381. See also Barwick's *Life of Dean Barwick*. P. 370.

† *The Character of King Charles the First, from the Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, on his death-bed; with a further Defence of the King's holy Book.* By Richard Hollingworth, D.D. 4to. 1692. P. 8.

(s) Another, that the King, at his removal to Hurst Castle, entrusted the manuscript to his care.

(s) The next belongs to the time of the treaty at Newport; as the preceding appears to do to that of his imprisonment * in Carisbrook Castle. And it is observable, that though the Gauden manuscript had *(they say,)* arrived in the interval, we shall see no signs of any material change having taken place in any of the properties of that book which Levet was so fond of. This is a letter to Seymour Bourman, Esq. Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"Your's of the 21st of this instant, April, I received, and one letter before that to the same effect, viz. to give a true account of my knowledge of that unparalleled book, which his Sacred Majesty, of blessed memory, King Charles the First, (murdered by his own rebellious subjects, before his own palace at Whitehall, with all the violent and malicious circumstances that wicked men could invent;) which book, of my certain knowledge, I can depose was truly his own, having observed his Majesty oftentimes writing his royal resentments of the bold and insolent behaviour of the soldiers, (his rebellious subjects,) when they had him in their custody.

"I waited on his Majesty, as page of the bed-chamber in ordinary, during all the time of his solitudes, (except when I was forced from him.) And especially, being nominated by his Majesty to be one of his servants, among others, that should attend him during the treaty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, I had the happiness to read the same oftentimes in manuscript, under his Majesty's own hand, being pleased to leave it in the window in his own bed-chamber, where I was always obliged to attend his Majesty's coming thither.

"But the treaty being ended in few days after, the soldiers, with one to conduct them, by name Mr. Anthony Mildmay, then cup-bearer, came to the bed-chamber about two-o'clock in the night, and knocked at the door: and one Mr. Herbert, Mr. Kirk, and myself, having some hint of their intentions, were watching in an inner room, and hearing some noise, went into his Majesty's bed-chamber, and asked *who they were that durst disturb his Majesty at that unseasonable time of the night?* Who answered, *They were sent to tell the King, he must rise, and go with them.* We acquainting his Majesty with their design, he was pleased to command us to tell them, *He would go with them, but it was not his usual hour to rise so soon.* We acquainted the soldiers with his Majesty's answer. They, instead of complying with his Majesty, bid us tell him, *If he did not rise presently, they must force him to it.* His Majesty only said, *If I must, give me my cloaths:* and so he immediately arose. Here

* It appears from the letters subjoined to Wagstaffe's *Vindication*, 3rd Edition, P. 159, that Levet was with the King early in October, 1648.

(r) A third, that he very often saw the King write what was printed in that book, and that he daily read the manuscript in the King's own hand. "Seldom did I read it," says he, "but tears came from me: and I do truly believe, that there is not a page in that book but what I have read under the King's own hand, before it was printed."

you may observe a mirror of patience in a distressed Prince. During the time of his Majesty's making himself ready, he concerned himself only how to secure this book of his, and a small cabinet, wherein he secured his letters to his Queen, who was then beyond the sea. And his Majesty having procured a pass for me from the said governor, that I should wait on him there, he gave me in charge this said book, and small cabinet, which I faithfully presented to his Majesty's own hands that night in Hurst Castle. But the governor, by what information is too tedious to insert here, at this time, and therefore I omit it, did on Saturday banish me out of the castle.

"I should have sent you a relation, which I had of Royston, the King's printer, for the printing of the said book, by his Majesty's special command, brought to him by a Divine, but not to be printed (a) till after the King's death, which he observed accordingly. For which Cromwell sent for him to Whitehall, not only promising rewards, but also threatening punishments, if he would not deny that he printed it by his Majesty's order. Which he refusing to do, did imprison him for about a fortnight; but seeing he could not work upon him, released him. Which is all at present from

"Your affectionate brother, to serve you,

"*From Sevarnark Park, near Marlborough,*
"*April*, 29, 1691." "WILLIAM LEVET *."

(s) In our knowledge of the barbarous miseries of those doleful times, it is some consolation to dwell upon this simple hearted servant, and his intercourse with this truly precious volume. I shall, therefore, not scruple to produce yet another testimony respecting him.

"I, John Holme, apothecary to the Charterhouse for these thirty-two years last past, do certify and declare,

"That giving my attendance on Mr. Levet, a scholar of the foundation, who was dangerously ill of a very malignant small-pox, in the month of May, 1683, did then begin my acquaintance with Mr. Levet, the father of the said scholar; which oppor-

(a) By *printed*, is to be understood *published*.

* Wagstaffe's *Vindication*. P. 84.

(v) Herbert, another servant of the King, had a manuscript copy of the book, given to him by his Majesty.

tunity I was glad of, because I had heard that he was the gentleman that waited upon King Charles the First in his troubles; which question I asked him, and his answer was, that he was the person that waited on his Majesty in his apartment and bed-chamber, from the beginning to the end of all his troubles. I then told him, that there was a reflection and scandal cast upon his Majesty's memory by some ill men, as if his Majesty was not the author of the book called *Icón Basilikè*. To which Mr. Levet answered, with great earnestness, in the words following, or words to the same purport and effect: viz.

"*Mr. Holmes, this report is altogether base, false, and scandalous; neither can I imagine how any foundation for this report can be made, even by the basest and wickedest of men; for that I myself very often, saw the King, write that which was printed in that book, and did daily read the manuscript of his own hand, in many sheets of paper: and seldom that I did read it, but tears came from me: and I do truly believe, that there is not a page in that book, but what I have read under the King's own hand, before it was printed.*

"And this saying of Mr. Levet, I John Holme shall be ready to testify upon oath, when there shall be occasion.

"*May* 22, 1699." "JOHN HOLME *."

(v) In the second of the above testimonies of Levet, mention is made of another servant of the King, Mr. Herbert. This gentleman, author of the Travels in the East, and afterwards Sir Thomas Herbert, was one of the suite of commissioners, who were sent down by Parliament to receive the King, and to keep him in custody at Holdenby, after he had been sold to them by the Scots. His Majesty's servants being speedily dismissed, Mr. Herbert received the appointment of a groom of the bed-chamber; and from that time attended upon his Master with much fidelity, and was with him at his death. He wrote in a letter, addressed to Sir William Dugdale, a very interesting Memoir of the last two years of the life of the King; and there, as might be expected the *Icón Basilikè* is not forgotten. His testimony is as follows. He is speaking of the King's confinement at Carisbrook:

"Spenser's Fairy Queen and the like (he read), for alleviating his spirits after serious studies.

"And at this time it was (as is presumed), he composed his book called *Suspiria Regalia*, published soon after his death, and entitled, *The King's Portraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, which Manuscript Mr. Herbert found amongst those books his Majesty was pleased to give him (those excepted which he bequeathed to his children, hereafter mentioned): in regard Mr. Herbert, though he did not see the King write that book, his Majesty being always private when he writ, and those his servants

* Wagstaffe's *Vindication*. P. 87.

(w) Colonel Legge, a groom of the bed-chamber, eminently faithful to the King, and to whom his Majesty was greatly and deservedly attached, always

never coming into the bed-chamber, when the King was private, until he called; yet comparing it with his hand-writing in other things, found it so very like, as induces his belief that it was his own hand-writing; having seen much of the King's writing before, and to instance particulars, in that his Majesty's translation of Dr. Sanderson, the late Bishop of Lincoln's book, *De Juramentis*, or like title, *concerning oaths*, all of it translated into English, and writ with his own hand; and which in his bed-chamber, he was pleased to shew his servants, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Herbert*."

It will have been noticed, that there is a very observable difference between some particulars of this evidence, and those statements which we had last before us, of Mr. Levet, and some others. Herbert "did not see the King write that book:" "His Majesty was always private when he writ." "His servants never came into the bed-chamber, until he called." This, we shall be reminded, is very different from what is seen elsewhere. I grant it: And it is highly proper that such discrepancies should be noticed and considered. What account then can be given of the seeming disagreement in the present instance?

Now, although, perhaps, we might be tempted to remark, that it would be a bold measure to commence an attack upon the King, from a position that contains so much in his behalf, as Herbert's testimony really does, and from a person who has several several times quoted the book as the King's, yet, to confine ourselves strictly to the mere point before us, the apparent inconsistencies adverted to, *omitting* that there might perhaps be something in the special *offices*, or special *qualities* of the individuals; omething to be allowed to personal liking, or the contrary, *omitting* that we *know* that Harrington debated, and contended uncourteously with the King, and not inquiring whether Herbert (who was so far confided in by the King's enemies, that he was the only person of his bed-chamber who was continued in that service to the end), was likely ever to do any thing bordering upon the same conduct:—the single particular which, I doubt not, will go a great way to clear up all our difficulty, is this. Levet (though this appears to be otherwise with respect to Reading), Levet was an ancient servant of the King, of approved fidelity, and of his own choice. Herbert was a Parliamentarian: he lived and died a Presbyterian: and as a servant, the King took him by necessity, not choice. If not, strictly speaking, imposed by Parliament, and the Parliament Commissioners, he came in their train; acted by their warrant and approbation; and was, in truth, more their servant than the King's. Can we wonder then, (without insisting that the King well knew that he was surrounded by spies and informers, ready to catch at any thing whereby they might injure and betray him), that he should put a difference between these cases; and observe a carriage and demeanor of distance and reserve to the one, which he would not do to the other?

(w) Again: William Legge was one of the ancient servants of the King. Of him, accordingly, we are assured, in the notes on Burnet's *Own Times*, written by the first Earl

* *Memoirs, &c.* edit. 1702. P. 45.

looked upon the *Icón Basilikè* to be authentic, and prized it accordingly.

(x) And another servant, on his death-bed, declared that these papers were committed to him by his Majesty; that he knew them to have been written by the King's own hand; and that they were afterwards printed in the *Icón Basilikè*.

(y) Further, we have several testimonies relating to

of Dartmouth, and recently published in the edition of that work from the Clarendon press; "This I know, that my grandfather, who was many years of his bed-chamber, and well known to have been much trusted by the King, always looked upon the *Icón Basilikè* to be authentic, and prized it accordingly*."

(x) These testimonies, relating to personal servants of the King, we may close with one, where the name of the party is not known to us. From the date, however, this could not have been either Levet or Colonel Legge, and is, therefore, an additional testimony.

Henry Lord Bishop of Meath, in a sermon preached (1679) at the funeral of Primate Margetson, says,

"That the Archbishop being in London after the death of the Royal Martyr, did administer the last offices of the church to a gentleman on his death-bed, (whose name he mentions not) but says, *That a dying person told him, that he had been one some time near in attendance on that sacred Martyr in his solitude, and that to him were committed by the King those papers, which he said he knew to have been written by the King's own hand, and which were afterwards published with the title of* Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. By this testimony, says the Bishop, that false assertion of the book not being the King's own appears; and the Royal author of that precious work is found to be the King himself: it being declared by such a person dying, and so could hope for no advantage by it†."

(y) In the beginning of October, (the second month of the treaty), Royston was sent to by the King, (as we have already mentioned), to get things ready for printing some papers which would be sent to him: and he declares, that these papers were the *Icón Basilikè*. In prosecuting our course, the testimonies relating to the book, while in the press, are very considerable. The following is from Dr. Hollingworth,

"But, to put this thing further out of doubt, understanding who composed and printed this book, and they both being now alive, I went to the one, and sent to the other. He I went to was Mr. Thomas Milbourn, printer, just by Jewen-street; and enquiring of him what he knew of King Charles's book, he told me, before a sufficient witness,

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* Vol. I. p. 51.

† *Long against Walker.* 1603, P. 30.

the book, while it was in the press. It is affirmed, that at one press it was printed from a copy in the hand-writing of Mr. Oudart, one of the King's secretaries.

"That in the year 1648 he was apprentice to Mr. John Grisman, a printer, at which time Mr. Symmons, by Mr. Royston, sent the King's book to be printed, and that his master did print it; and that Mr. Symmons always had the name of sending it to the press: and that it came to them, as from the King; and they understood it no other ways: and that they had printed several other things with C. R. to them; and that it looked to them like the same hand, and the same sort of paper, with others that were so marked, and looked upon as the King's papers, for the King (as all Kings no doubt do) kept the originals by him: and Mr. Oudart, the secretary, transcribed them.

"Which after I writ down, I read to him, and he, before witness, declared to be true. But, withal he informed me, that there was one Mr. Clifford, belonging to the church of St. Paul's, and Reader of Prayers at Serjeants' Inn in Fleet-street, that assisted him in composing and correcting the aforesaid book, who could give me a further account of the things. Upon which, the same day, April 28th, in the afternoon, I sent a letter to Mr. Clifford, desiring him to give me the favor of his company that afternoon, or to come to me the day following; who sent me an answer, that his business was so, that he could not come that evening, but he would come to me the next day: which accordingly he did; and after dinner, before witnesses, I writ down what he said to me, upon knowledge, of the King's book, which I after read to him, and he set his hand to. The words were these;

"I, James Clifford *, do, upon my knowledge, declare to Dr. Hollingworth, that I was an actuary in several things published by King Charles, particularly the letters between him and Mr. Alexander Henderson, who endeavoured to seduce the King to favour the Presbyterian Government. And, that there was a man of known fidelity, Mr. Symmons by name, chaplain to the then Prince of Wales, who was employed by the King to take care of his book, because he had writ the *Vindication* of the King so well. And that the King had entitled his book *The Royal Plea:* but Dr. Jeremiah Taylor coming accidentally into Mr. Royston's shop, he having a great and assured confidence in him, shewed him the first proof from the press; which, when the Doctor viewed under that title, he told him the title would betray the book. Whereupon Dr. Taylor did undertake to write a letter to his Majesty, to let him know it would be in danger to be suppressed for the title's sake; there being, as he understood, two crafty informers, by name Cheltenham and Jones, who would understand the book by the title.

* This Clifford was the compositor of Gauden's tract, *The Religious and Loyal Protestation*, as appears, under his own hand, from a copy now in the University Library at Cambridge. This circumstance may give more weight to his assertions below, that "Dr. Gauden was never concerned in that copy of the *Icon*, from which he printed it; and that they had no part of the copy from Dr. Walker."

(z) At another; from a copy in the King's own hand, which had been delivered to Mr. Symmons by the

And, therefore, he thought Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ would be a better title, and the less taken notice of by the informers, being Greek; and withal, it agreeing with the title of his father's book, called Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον: upon which letter the King immediately consented to the alteration of the title, as Dr. Taylor proposed.

"And withal, I do declare, that the King, for fear the original should miscarry, ordered Mr. Oudart *, Secretary to Sir Edward Nicholas, Principal secretary of State, to transcribe it; and lodged the original in the Lord Marquess of Hertford's own hands †; and by the copy of Mr. Oudart, Mr. Milbourn and myself (it being the way of livelihood I took to, being turned out of Magdalen College in Oxford, for my loyalty), did print the said book. After the printing of which, a great part was seized in Mr. Symmons's lodgings; and he, though in a shepherd's habit, was so far discovered, as that he was pursued into Great Carter lane, by the rebels; where he took refuge; and the bloody villains fired two pistols at him, which frighted him up stairs; and out of the garret window he made his escape over the houses.

"And I do further say, that I never heard, nay, that I am sure, that Dr. Gauden never was concerned in that book, by which Mr. Milbourn and myself printed it: and that we had no part of the copy from Dr. Walker; for, it was that transcribed by the aforesaid Mr. Oudart, we printed it by

"*Teste* "JAC. CLIFFORD.

"In the presence of

"*Luke Milbourn*, Clerk.

"*Margaret Hollingworth* ‡."

(z) But the book, we are assured, was printed at another press besides Grisman's, that

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* That Mr. Oudart had transcribed the *Icon* is confirmed by the following certificate of Sir Philip Warwick's Amanuensis, afterwards schoolmaster at Amesbury. "I, Robert Hearne, formerly servant to Sir Philip Warwick, do attest, that I have often heard my said master, Sir Philip Warwick, as likewise Mr. Oudart, and Mr. Whitaker declare, that they had transcribed copies of the late King Charles I.'s own copy of his book, entitled *Icon Basilikè*, written with his said Majesty's own hand, in the presence of

"*Phil. Mist.*

"*Fr. Shipton.*

"Witness my hand, "ROBERT HEARNE."

Hollingworth's Henderson's Character of King Charles, p. 9.

† This circumstance is corroborated by the following, from Mr. Young. "Captain George Strangeways, of Weymouth, served under the Marquess of Hertford during the rebellion, and hath often declared, that the King's book, written by his Majesty's own hand, was for some time committed to his custody by the Marquess; that he read it over, and knew it to be the same that is now printed, under the title of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ." *Several Evidences*, p. 20.

‡ *Defence of the Icon Basilikè*. 4to. 1692. P. 12.

King himself, from under his blue watchet waistcoat.

of Dugard, and from another copy, which was in the King's own hand. It will be necessary to see what is said about this edition,

I transcribe now from Mr. Wagstaffe *, the testimony of Dr. Hooker, which he, and Dr. Goodall took from Hooker's own mouth, and " which," says he, " I have now by me, attested and subscribed by his own hand.

" Edward Hooker testifieth, that he was corrector to Mr. Dugard's press, when Mr. Symmons brought the copy of *Icón Basilikè* to advise with him how to get it printed; that Mr. Dugard (having bought Mr. Young's press) undertook it; and it was accordingly printed off, at Mr. Dugard's press, with the correction of the said Hooker. That Mr. Symmons affirmed to the said Mr. Dugard and Mr. Hooker, that the copy was written with the King's own hand, and delivered by Mr. Symmons to the King himself, who took it from under his blue watched waistcoat, where the King, in time of his confinement, had upon occasion used to preserve it. That the said Mr. Symmons, having published a book, called *Vindiciæ Caroli*, the King was pleased to thank him; telling him that book was all the requital he could make him; and bidding him use it to his best advantage.

" The said Mr. Symmons also told them, that the frontispiece or emblem was drawn by the King's own hand, who could paint well, and delighted in painting. That the following mottoes, *Cœli specto; Christi tracto; Mundi Calco; Beatam et Æternam; Asperam at Levem; Splendidam at Gravem; Gloria Gratia; In Verbo Tuo Spes Mea; Vanitas;* this was the King's own draught, and wrote with his own pencil. As for the draught at the back of the King, and these mottoes, *Clarior e Tenebris; Immota Triumphans; Crescit sub Pondere Virtus;* these were added by Mr. Edward Hooker, corrector, and William Marshall, graver, saying, *We will have it, the King being so base, he having nothing at his back: therefore, we will have it well delineated, and engraved.*

" The said Mr. Hooker further testifieth, that Mr. Dugard having thus printed the book †, and it coming to be known, he was thrown into prison, and turned out of Merchant Taylor's school. And Mr. Hooker, to save himself, went to travel for several years; and had during his travels, by several letters, an account given him

* *Vindication*, p. 107.

† Dugard himself tells us, that the principal cause of his sufferings was his printing Salmasius's *Defensio Regia*, " ob hanc *præcipue* causam quod Claud: Salmasii librum, qui inscribitur *Defensio Regia*, typis mandandum curaveram." But we have an account in the preface to a book of Gauden's, of which hereafter we shall have to say a great deal, which corroborates the testimony of Hooker. " The printer fell into some trouble for some acts of loyalty, which were then called treason: such as were the printing the late King's incomparable book, entitled Ελκὼν Βασιλικὴ, in English, Latin, French, and Italian; Salamasius's *Defensio Regia; Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia*, by Dr. Bates; and some other things of the like nature." *Cromwell's Bloody Slaughter House.* 1660. 12mo.

(AA) Again, we hear, from the mouth of a zealous royalist, that the King "had written such a book as never was written before; and that his friends were labouring night and day to get the printing of it effected,"

by Mr. Dugard what he had suffered in this service: in which letters he remembers the following expressions: *They have dealt with me worse than the devil did with Job, having taken all from me, yet left me all my children.* And that the said Mr. Dugard acquainted him in the said letters, *That his wife made application to President Bradshaw for his release; who told her that he might come out if he would take advice of a friend of his, and then he need not lie in prison. And, accordingly,* Mr. Milton *was sent to him, who offered him his liberty, if he would do what he would have him; who refused his proposals, saying, God's will be done, though I be undone. But, said he, how my wife and they juggle together, I know not. But I shall get out; and when I can, I will write to my dear* Hooker, *and follow your Christian advice, to be a free prisoner in the interim.*

"And Mr. Hooker does believe, that Mr. Dugard's wife printed Pamela's prayer, taken out of Sir Philip Sidney's Arpadia, with the alterations made in it, as one of the conditions of her husband's release out of prison. Witness my hand, November 20, 1669.

"*Ita Testor*, Edward Hooker, *Perusor of the Royal Original.*"

I may add, it is well known, however, that poor Dugard himself *did* bow the knee. Milton's, and perhaps his wife's persuasions prevailed. So he was restored to his Mastership of Merchant Taylor's School, by a mandate to the Governors from the Council of State, and was made their printer. And before long, we have from his press, instead of Salmasius' *Defensio Regia*, or an edition of *Icón Basilikè*, such titles as the following, *Joannis Miltoni Defensio pro Populo Anglicano, contra Claudii Salmasii Defensionem Regiam*; *Typis Dugardianis* *.

Mr. Young has produced another declaration of the same person, (Hooker) of a different kind, but to the same effect, as far as it goes; made to Dr. Littleton, Prebendary of Westminster; and attested by four witnesses †.

(AA) We now approach the fatal day, and still the stream of testimony does not fail us.

A few days before the trial, Mr. Francis Boyton, a Norfolk gentleman, who had a place in the Pipe Office, discoursing with the lady of Sir Ralph Whitfield, daughter of Sir Henry Spelman, in the presence of her daughter, Mrs. Fotherly of Rickmansworth (from whose dictation this account came to Mr. Wagstaffe), told her,

"Madam, the King has wrote such a book as never was wrote in the world. We

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* See *Wilson's History of Merchant Taylor's School*, p 313.

† *Several Evidences, &c.* p. 19.

(BB) We have accounts of the arrangements made by Royston for the publication; of his imprisonment subsequently; and of threats and bribes offered, to induce him to declare that the work was not the King's.

labour all we can to get it printed, but I am afraid we shall not be able to do it. For could it be published, and made known to the world, I am confident the people would rise, and never suffer him to be tried. I and others have laboured night and day, and cannot yet effect it *."

Doubtless, it may be objected,—"This testimony is principally evidence of Mr. Boyton's zealous admiration of the book—(the *existence*, and even the *beauty* of which are no part of our question), but what does it prove, beyond his opinion, *who* the author was?" I grant this may be *said:* and the like remark is applicable to portions, at least, of some of the other testimonies, which I have recently alleged. I am aware, I say, that these things *may* be objected; and having mentioned that I am so aware,—there I am willing to leave it.

(BB) The day after the King's murder, the book was in the hands of the people. I am tempted to cite a passage containing some interesting particulars respecting its publication. They were communicated by Royston to Mr. Norman, a gentleman of Exeter; and by him to Mr. Long, who printed them in Mr. Norman's life time.

"There was information given that such a book was to be printed, and great endeavours † were used to prevent it: but that he had removed a press at some distance from the city, to secure the impression: which he did, and speedily finished it, not without some hazard, there being diligent search made in all the known printers' houses for it. But, in one night, he caused several hawkers to come to a certain place, where the books were delivered them; and they sold about 2000 copies for the price of 15*s.* each. That the care and charge which he used for concealing the impression, cost him some hundreds of pounds; which notwithstanding, he was taken up on suspicion, and made a prisoner; till, after some time, he had his liberty on giving 500*l.* bail."

(*a*) It was also testified under his hand, by Mr. Norton, who was one of Royston's printers, that Mrs. Royston, at that time living, would avouch, that "her husband, by the men then in power had great sums of money offered him, if he would say that the King was not the author of that book: and that he (Mr. Norton) had often heard him say the same." (*b*)

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* *Vindication*, p. 103.

† Perhaps it might be not without some view to this very book, that, we find, the House (January 5,) spent some time in debate on scandalous and unlicensed pamphlets; and for *prevention* and *suppression* of the same for the *future*, took steps to put the ordinance of Sept. 28, 1647, concerning scandalous and unlicensed pamphlets, into speedy execution. *Rushworth.* Vol. VII. p. 1384.

(*a*) *Dr. Walker's Account examined*, &c. 1693. 4to. P. 57.

(*b*) Wagstaffe's *Vindication.* P. 123.

(cc) We have accounts of a like import, respecting Symmons and his widow.

(cc) The particulars told respecting Symmons, are also important and interesting. Even Mrs. Gauden and Walker both intimate the great share he had in the publication. Again: one tells us of the solemn delivery of the book to him by the King. Another speaks of his consultations about the printing. And, we have several testimonies, that when the book was out, he distributed copies of it among his friends, as the work of the King. "Several he sent to his friends at Fowey, assuring them that he printed it from the King's own copy, and by his particular command. I have seen several of those books he so sent," says Mr. Young; "and have heard divers worthy inhabitants of that loyal corporation affirm what I say; two or three of them are still living *." Symmons, therefore, also must be sought for, seized, and punished. Death, however, comes to his rescue. As he was flying for shelter into France, he was apprehended at Gravesend: but, before he could come to his examination, he caught the small pox, and died March 29, 1649.

Still, even after death, he must be followed and persecuted, in the person of his relict, by the relentless Regicides. Repeated attempts were made upon Mrs. Symmons, both by threats and promises, to induce her to say, on the authority of her husband, that the work was not the King's. But she continued firm. And many years afterwards, to persons on each side of the controversy, she gave numerous distinct and separate accounts, all concurring one with another; and declaring, that her husband lived and died persisting, (what she herself also firmly believed,) that the work was the King's. "Dr. Hollingworth," says Mr. Young, "has published one, and Dr. Goodall another of her nuncupative testimonies: you have given the world a third, and I will present you with another given under her hand; which differing in date from those already published, and being witnessed by other persons, shews the agreeableness of her evidence at different times, and before several witnesses, and makes it the more credible †." But, for my own part, I shall prefer receiving what I intend to cite upon this portion of our subject, from a bitter enemy to the King. The authority shall be *Ludlow no Liar*, as scurrilous a pamphlet, perhaps, as any that has appeared, on a side which has been abundantly productive of that kind of material.

"'Twould be a very seasonable and good work, to set somebody to bribe this prevaricating and forging doctor," (he means Dr. Hollingworth) "to speak truth. For, Mrs. Symmons, who is a conscientious woman, denies that she told the Doctor, that any body attempted to bribe her to a lie, or said to her, that there were some hundred pounds, or any sum at her service. But she declares, she told him, that quickly after the King's murder, one Mr. Robinson, who lived about Threadneedle-street, invited

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* *Several Evidences*, &c. 4to. 1703. P. 16. See also for another testimony, Wagstaffe's *Vindication*. P. 106.

† *Several Evidences*, &c. P. 18. See Wagstaffe's *Defence of The Vindication of King Charles the Martyr*. 1699. 4to. P. 90. Hollingworth's *Defence of Icon Basilikè*. P. 26. Also, his *Henderson's Character of King Charles*. P. 3.

And particulars also of great importance, respecting (DD) A *French Translation* of the book, by order of King Charles the Second:

(EE) A curious account of the pains taken by the

her to dinner, and talked with her about her husband's writing the King's book; and said, it might be some hundred pounds in her way, if she would acknowledge the truth: and that if she would not, she might come into great trouble. And she saith, that she never saw him after.

"And now after all this wrangling; for peace sake, and half-a-crown to be spent at the Pye Tavern, at Aldgate, I will, (so far as I am interested in the matter,) give that diminutive and inconsiderable thing, the Aldgate Chaplain, his saying; The book *was*, without further debate about it, wrote by King Charles; and he lies that gainsays it: but then I must be allowed to observe, that it begins with falsehood, and ends with fraud *."

(DD) The details of this long history of the writing and publishing the *Icón Basilikè*, are now drawing towards a close. Two or three particulars, however, will still deserve to be noticed. First, then, I would refer briefly to a Letter of Sir Edward Nicholas, (printed, not many years ago, by Mr. Bray, with Evelyn's *Memoirs*,) dated *Paris, Nov.* 6, 1649, and addressed to some person then in the court of Charles the Second, at Jersey. The object of this Letter is to complain of the injustice done to the memory of the King by a French Translation of the *Icón Basilikè*, by one Marsys, then recently published. He concludes with saying,

"I hope some course will be taken, that Marsys may be discharged of his titles and relation to the King; and that his Majesty will hereupon give order, that a true copy may be printed in French of his father's book, declared by him to be authentic; waving both the editions, either of Huguenot or Papist; and that this command be grounded upon the ill editions of both these persons and parties †." Now, in pursuance of this communication from Nicholas, which has a value of its own, I would next remark, that Mr. Wagstaffe has printed an original Letter of Charles the Second, to Mons. Testard, dated *Beauvois*, March 15. 1650, desiring him to finish such a translation and edition as Sir Edward Nicholas recommended; a work which the King had been informed that Mons. Testard had undertaken ‡.

(EE) To these particulars I may add, that we have another account, respecting King Charles II., so important, that it deserves to be related more at large.

That which I now refer to, is contained in a Letter from Dr. Canaries, dated *Abingdon*, July 17, 1693. But first, I may say, that of this Dr. Canaries we have the following character in Mr. Young:

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* *Ludlow no Liar: or, A Detection of Dr. Hollingworth's Disingenuity, in his Second Defence of King Charles the First*, in a Letter from General Ludlow to Dr. Hollingworth. 4to. 1692. Amsterdam, printed. P. xix.

† *Letters*, &c. subjoined to Evelyn's Memoirs. Vol. II. p. 129. 4to. 1818.

‡ *Vindication*, &c. P. 19-22.

same King, to convince a Scotch Clergyman of the genuineness of the work; who thereupon declared himself satisfied.

"Dr. Canaries was a man of great learning and judgment, and had seen much of the world; and when, after the late Revolution, the Scots expelled Episcopacy with that rigor and violence they did, he had great offers made him by the Kirk of that kingdom, to continue among them; but he chose rather to be a refugee in this. The King, understanding his great worth, gave him Abington, and made him one of his Chaplains in Ordinary *."

The part of the letter in which we are principally concerned is the following.

"In the year 1656, the Scots sent Commissioners to King Charles II., then at Breda, in order to adjust all matters with him about the Covenant before they would admit him to the exercise of his royal government; and that both the Kirk and the State might look to their respective interests, each of them sent their own Commissioners. Mr. James Wood, one of the Ministers of St. Andrew's, and Provost (or Principal) of the Old College, in that University, and one of the most learned and considerable persons amongst all the Presbyterian Ministers then in that kingdom, was one of the Commissioners sent by the Kirk.

"He being one day in the King's bed-chamber, when he was at Breda, the King began a discourse about his Father's Book, several persons of quality being present. And after a little he turned to Mr. Wood, and said to him, *Mr. Wood, I hear* † *that some are pleased to say, that my Father was not the Author of that Book: but it is no great wonder, that they who had been so injurious to him upon all other respects, should not spare his memory, in an affair of this nature. However, I will let you see how great a calumny this is.* Whereupon the King took Mr. Wood into his closet with him; and there he shewed him the whole Book written all in his Father's hand; together with a letter from his Father concerning it to him. Then the King said, *But, Mr. Wood, that you may not entertain any scruple about the hand, there are several of my Father's letters to me, all written in his own hand; take any of them, and compare the hands together.* So Mr. Wood compared the hands, and then said to the King, that he was fuly convinced that the Book and the letter about it were all written in his Father's hand. Upon which the King said to him, *Now, Mr. Wood, I appeal to you, whether or*

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* *Several Evidences*, &c. P. 19.

† It is a curious fact, that in Baillie's *Letters*, we have a dispatch for Scotland, bearing date, *Hague, April* 3, 1649, and signed by four Scotch Commissioners, two laymen and two Divines, of whom this Mr. Wood is one, in which, in the true spirit of their merciless Covenanting Commission, they tell their countrymen, "The *peace of France*, and an *unhappy* Book, Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, does us *much prejudice*." Vol. II. p. 332. The Commission came out a second time in 1650, and were then at Breda, Wood being one of the number. *See Clarendon's State Papers*, Vol. II. Appendix. It is in no sort improbable, that, in the interval, the King had heard of the dispatch, and had learnt, that Wood himself might have been one of those persons who had "been pleased to say that his Father was not the Author."

(FF) And, finally; the important facts of a Latin Translation being designed by Dr. Robert Sanderson, and executed by Dr. John Earle, the King's old tutor.

These things might be insisted upon, but I must quicken my steps. I will, therefore, adduce only one citation more. It is part of a letter, addressed to Dr. Hollingworth, by a very respect-

not my Father would have written over a Book that was not his own, and have sent such a letter to me about it? Mr. Wood answered, that he was highly obliged to his Majesty for the honor he had done him, in having shewn him such an authentical proof of his Father's being the Author of that Book: he had indeed heard that some persons did question it; but now he was so persuaded of the truth of it, that he thought himself obliged, in conscience, to do the King, his Father, justice, by vindicating his memory in that point, as he should have any occasion for doing it.

"After Mr. Wood returned to Scotland, he told my father the whole passage with all its circumstances, so as it is here related; there having been a great intimacy between my father and him for many years before. And withal he told him, that he was as much convinced that King Charles I. was the Author of that Book, as he could be that one was the author of a book, which he had not seen him write.

"This account I had many times from my father; and in the words and circumstances wherein I have set it down, as near as I can possibly remember *."

(FF) Again. Would we take another instance of the same tendency, with the rest, calculated, that is, to shew, *whether*, shall I say, the blind, unsuspecting *delusion* of those persons who might have been considered before-hand to be the best informed, and the most acute for detecting any wrong; or, on the other hand, must it be called the deep-laid scheme of forgery, fraud, and falsehood, to deceive the world, most widely participated in by men, ordinarily esteemed of as unblemished and irreproachable integrity, as any upon record: then, such an instance I might allege, we have in the intended translation of the *Icon Basilikè* into Latin, which we know † was undertaken by the celebrated Dr. Robert Sanderson; a man of a most cool and searching head; and one who was much with Charles in his troubles; a translation too, relinquished only, because he found himself anticipated in the work, by Dr. Earle, (a second Sanderson in integrity, and in advantages for the discovery of the truth); who performed it by the special command of Charles II., to whom he had been tutor, and was now Chaplain and Clerk of the closet; and printed it at the Hague, (1649), with an admirable dedication to his Royal Master.

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* *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 17.

† *Sanderson's Life by Izaak Walton.*

able clergyman, the Reverend Cave Beck of Ipswich. The period of time is immediately before the Restoration. The other part of the letter we had occasion to cite in the enquiry respecting Major Huntington.

" Also I remember, when I waited upon my Lord Viscount Hereford, into Holland, (who was sent by the Parliament with other Lords, to bring home King Charles II.), my Lord sent me to Dr. Earle, then at the Hague, to request his knowledge, whether the King was author of the said book. The Doctor told me, *As sure as he knew himself to be the translator of it into Latin; so certain he was, King Charles was the author of the original in English.*"

Mr. Beck concludes his letter excellently well: " For my part," (says he), " I am apt to believe no person was able to frame that book, but a suffering King; and no suffering King, but King Charles the Martyr [7]."

Now, my Lord, after all these testimonies on the side of Charles, what shall we say? What opinion shall we form, on the question which is before us?

Can Dr. Gauden, supported by his wife and his friend, be able to stand against this multitudinous host arrayed on the side of the King? Was there ever before so much evidence brought together from so many quarters, to support a lie? Were there ever so many witnesses, testifying to so many mat-

[7] *Hollingworth's Henderson's Character of Charles I.* P. 28.

ters of fact, that did not betray themselves, unless their witness were true?

I fear, however, that too much still remains untold and unconsidered, to warrant my summing up the evidence, with the view of pronouncing an accurate and a final judgment. We have yet to place the due limits to the extent of our question; and then I shall offer a few special observations, which may tend to convey more distinct notions, respecting the real value and import of some part of our materials.

First then, I would ask, Are we to wonder, after reading the history which we have been able to compile in behalf of the King, that they who knew little or nothing of any opposite claim from Gauden, or from any other quarter, should accept the book with undoubting confidence for that which it professes to be, the Meditations of their Sovereign in his solitudes and sufferings? Are we to wonder, that *before*, *at*, and *after* the time of Gauden making his claim, (being made, as it was, in great degree *in private*), the world should believe, as it did indisputably for a great many years, that the work was Charles's?

But, again. Turning our eyes now to the other side of the question, perhaps we shall not wonder, that another class of readers, they who knew something more of the claim of Gauden, as, by degrees, parts of it came to transpire, (though far short of the dimensions in which we now possess it), should be led to frame a *theory* of their own, whereby they would *reconcile* the contending difficulties, and *save the credit* of both Parties of Claimants. The present

is the place to advert shortly to this specious theory. I cannot do better than to produce it in the words of Bishop Kennett; in many subjects, and not the least on points like the present, one of the best informed men of his age.

"*After much and long enquiry and consideration*, the truth seems to lye between the two extremes, as in many other cases. It is highly probable that King Charles amidst his solitudes and sufferings did write most of those Essays or Meditations upon the particular occasions, and soon after the special times to which they are adapted: and that such papers, written by the King's own hand, were committed to a loyal chaplain, Mr. Edward Symonds, Minister of Rayne in Essex, to convey them to the press with all privacy, in London or elsewhere. But he being interrupted by sequestration, and under a necessity of flying and absconding, delivered the Royal Papers to his friend and neighbour, Dr. Gauden, who being a man of an enterprising genius, and a very luxuriant fancy, and finding himself the more at liberty by the absence of Mr. Symonds, would not let them pass, without something of his own additions, and, as he thought, improvements of them. Accordingly, he enlarged the draught with some new heads, and prevailed with Bishop Duppa to give him one chapter, and most likely of his own invention, threw in most, if not all, of the Ejaculations and Devotions at the end of each subject, and set the title of his own devising, Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ, *The Portraiture, &c.* When he had thus dressed up the King's Papers, he

thought it decent to send and shew them for his Majesty's approbation. Whether the King had time to revise the Papers, and give his assent to the publishing of them, (as some affirm), does not so well appear: but it seems probable, that Dr. Gauden, hearing nothing of the King's dislike or restraint, and finding his violent death to be soon after the universal subject of wonder and lamentation, got the impression wrought off within a month after the Tragedy was acted, and the cry of the times soon made way for several Editions.

"Having had so much of his hand in it, it was natural for his ambition, at the King's return, to assume the honor of it, though his first pretensions reached no farther than writing a part of it; and the King himself, immediately after his Restoration, told Dr. Reynolds, *All that is in that book is not Gospel;* seeming to imply interpolations and additions[8] made

[8] I doubt much whether it be certain that the King's words imply an opinion of *interpolations and additions* in the *Icon*. To afford an opportunity of judging, it may be right to give the passage to which Dr. Kennett refers. The account is also curious in itself! and is still farther *particularly curious*, because the circumstances occurred at a meeting at the Lord Chancellor's, (Oct. 22, 1660, exactly two months before Gauden's first letter to Clarendon), where the King, and Clarendon, and Morley, and Gauden, &c. &c. were present.

"I shall only observe, that in reading the several parts of the Declaration, Dr. Morley was the principal manager of the conference among the Bishops, and Mr. Baxter among the Ministers: and one particular I cannot forget: It was desired by the Ministers that the Bishops should exercise their Church Power with the counsel and consent of Presbyters. This uniting of authority was so displeasing, that Dr. Cosin, then Elect of Durham, said, *If your Majesty grant this, you will unbishop your Bishops.* Dr. Reynolds upon this produced the Book entituled, *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, and read the following passage: *Not that I am against the managing of this presidency and authority of one man by the joint counsel and consent of many Presbyters. I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those errors, corruptions, and partialities which are incident to any one man: also*

to it; so that *all* was not to be taken for his royal father's very thoughts and words.

"However, upon this great share of concern in it, Dr. Gauden was very pressing for preferment at court, and having obtained the see of Exeter, he urged this merit for a translation to Winchester[9]."

Here are marks of great deliberation: but hypotheses, in matters of fact, are hazardous things.—I say nothing, however, of the numerous minor mistakes of this elaborate scheme; many of which are sufficiently apparent from our historical compilations. My concern is solely with the hypothesis in the aggregate. And, in respect to this, it is sufficient to say, that we are *now* exempted from giving ourselves any further trouble concerning it. Gauden himself has supplied us with an easy and effectual refutation of it, in the compass of a very few words. He has put himself out of all power of having any such plea urged in his behalf. He scorns to divide the palm. He,

'Bears, like the Turk, no brother near the throne:'

to avoid tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men. Besides, it will be a means to take away that burthen and odium of affairs, which may lie too heavy on one man's shoulders, as indeed I think it did formerly on the Bishops here. The good Doctor thought that the judgment of the King's afflicted and enquiring Father, would have been of great moment to incline him to that temperament: but the King presently replied, *All that is in that book is not Gospel.* My Lord Chancellor prudently moderated in that matter, that the Bishops, in weighty causes, should have the assistance of the Presbyters." *Bates's Funeral Sermon on the Death of Baxter.* (December 1691).

Baxter in his own Life mentions this topic in the following terms. "We urged him hard with a passage in his Father's Book of Meditations, where he expressly granteth this *consent* of the Presbyters: but it would not prevail." P. 276.

[9] Kennett's *Register and Chronicle, Ecclesiastical and Civil.* fol. 1728. P. 774.

"This book and figure," says he, "was *wholly, and only my invention*, making, and design." And if Bishop Duppa had had any more share in the work, than the King himself, how was it possible that Gauden could have used those words in immediate connexion with an appeal to that Prelate?—"and it was delivered to the King by the now Bishop of Winchester."

But in addition to this direct and positive declaration of Gauden to the contrary, I would observe, that in my judgment, there is a total absence of evidence, whether *external* or *internal*, of any thing like a conjugation of labours, a joint authorship in the performance. Be it Gauden's, or the King's, the work is one, and the author is one. Seeing, therefore, that there are two claimants for the entire work, it is plain, that there is falsehood on one side, or the other.

Now, as I remarked above, there is abundantly enough to satisfy us of the claim of the King, abstractedly considered. Had it not been for the opposing pretensions of Gauden, we should have had no doubt or demur. Our question therefore really is, What is, not so much the abstract and absolute, as the *comparative* value of that claim? Is his plea of being the *sole* author of *Icôn Basilikè*, supported as it is by Mrs. Gauden, and Dr. Walker; and by the silence and the rest of the conduct of Lord Clarendon, and others; and by the testimony, (such as it is) on Gauden's side, of the two royal brothers,—is it to be

considered sufficient to supersede all that we have seen witnessed on the side of Charles, to alter the judgment of the world, and to turn the tide of public opinion wholly the other way?

I have used the expression, "the claim of Gauden *supported as it is* by Mrs. Gauden and Dr. Walker." *How* then *have* they supported it? Is there really *much*, is there really *any* value in their testimony? On the contrary, will there not be great danger, if we give full credit to *them*, that contradictions and inconsistencies will be introduced into the account, which will tend mightily to impair, or utterly to destroy our confidence in the whole?

I have already remarked, that we possess in the statements, whether of Dr. Walker, or Mrs. Gauden, very little that is of moment, which either from its own nature, or from *their* avowal, they *might* not have obtained at the time, or rather, by *after-infusion*, —from the conversations of Gauden; or by other subsidiary means. But, now I am obliged to go much further. It is not merely, that they afford scanty additions, or none, to our grounds of belief: for, both likewise have done not a little to disturb and weaken them.

First: even with respect to so important a point as this: Whether Charles was a party to the forgery; or, his reputation has deeply suffered, without any fault of his own, purely by the pious fraudulence of Gauden, and the unjustifiable co-operation of the friends of the King? Let us see, my Lord,

what disagreement there is among our witnesses. Gauden says, "His Majesty graciously accepted, owned, and adopted it as his sense and genius, not only with great approbation, but admiration!" No doubt this is the natural account. And the multitude of writers, who are so zealous to prove a forgery, all reckon upon involving the King in its guilt. Mrs. Gauden, on the other hand, tells us indeed, that, "having had some of those Essays read to him by Bishop Duppa, he did exceedingly approve of them:" but then she adds, that "he asked also, whether they could not be put out *in some other name*:" and when that was not deemed feasible, "the King desired time to consider of it; and this," says my Lord Marquess of Hertford, "is all the account I can give of it." But though the Marquess cannot, Dr. Walker *can* give us the story, according to quite a different version.

"Thirdly, Dr. Gauden, *some time after the King was murdered*, upon my asking him, whether he (the King) *had ever seen the book*, gave me this answer: *I know it certainly no more than you;* but I used my best endeavours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the Marquess of Hertford, when he went to the treaty at the Isle of Wight; and intreated his Lordship, if he could obtain any private opportunity, he would deliver it to his Majesty, and humbly desire to know his Majesty's pleasure concerning it. But, the violence which threatened the King hastening so fast, *he ventured to print it, and never knew what was the issue of sending it. For, when*

the thing was done, he judged it not prudent to make further noise about it, by enquiry [1]."

Again. Let us pass from a particular in which the credit of the professed Author of the Book is so intimately concerned, to its *appellation* and *title*. Mrs. Gauden tells us, that the name which her husband at first gave it was *Suspiria Regalia*; and that, *when he sent it to the Press*, he "altered the title, and called it *Icón Basilikè*."—That this alteration did take place, I fully believe: although I do not believe that it was made by Dr. Gauden. But, how will this circumstance bear upon Walker? If it be true, then, immediately, far the most material portion, and the most exact and circumstantial of his whole Narrative becomes absolutely impossible.

"First. Dr. Gauden, *some time before the whole was finished,* was pleased to acquaint me with *his design,* and shewed me the *heads* of *divers* chapters, and *some* of the *Discourses,* written of them: and after some consideration, according to the freedom he gave me to speak my thoughts, I told him, *I supposed it would be much for the King's reputation, honor, and safety:* but I expressly added, *I stuck at the lawfulness of it;* and modestly asked him, *how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the World?* To which he so readily replied, that I concluded he had thought on it before; *Look on the Title,* 'tis the *Portraiture, &c., and no man draws his own Picture:* which satisfied himself; and, though we might argue

[1] *True Account.* P. 5.

it a little, did at present silence me; my heart being so inclinable to what was the scope of the whole [2]." No; Dr. Walker; here must be a mistake.—If any conversation ever took place of the kind here recorded (which I doubt not there might), then, I must believe, that the date of it was *subsequent* to the publication of the *Icón*, and not *before* it: in short, that this was one of those *after-infusions*, from which, as I shrewdly suspect, a great part, or the whole of the testimony of Walker was derived. How could these persons hold this foolish talk of "no man drawing his own Picture," when we have consenting accounts from both sides that the title of the Book was yet not *Icón Basilikè*, but *Suspiria Regalia?*

Take another instance, in the circumstantial history which he has given us of the interview with Bishop Duppa. "Before we parted, the Bishop said, *I pray go you on to finish what remains, and leave these two,*" (he means the chapters *On the denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains, and On the Ordinance against the Book of Common Prayer*), "*to me. I will prepare two chapters upon them:* which accordingly he did," (says Walker) "as Dr. Gauden owned *to me*, and *others whom he had made privy to the whole;* and never pretended to have written these, as he did all the rest." And in another part of his Book, Walker, with all possible confidence, turns this supposed fact, into one of his best *probable arguments* of Gauden being the Author of the *Icón*. "His free declaring that he had neither thought of those (two)

[2] *True Account*, p. 4.

subjects, nor written of them, *which it was so unlikely he should, renders it very probable he spoke truth*, in declaring he wrote the rest[3]." But, how does this supposed fact, this "free declaration," agree with those other undoubted words of Gauden, equally free, and occurring in immediate juxta-position with an appeal to Duppa, to which we have lately had occasion to refer; "This Book and Figure was *wholly* and *only* my invention, making, and design?" And, how, again, (as to one of the chapters), is it consistent with those words of Mrs. Gauden, that, *when the Book was in the Press*, "*he*" *(Gauden)* "*then* added the Essay upon their denying him the attendance of his chaplains?" Gauden, I will not deny, *might* tell this about the two chapters to Walker: but, *if it was true*, why did he not tell it to Clarendon? *Why did he not tell it to Mrs. Gauden?* To the former, it would have supplied the most expeditious and easy means possible, (that is, by reference to Duppa), to ascertain his undivided pretensions to the rest.

I shall only add one example more, in illustration of the value to be set at once upon Dr. Walker's most confident asseverations in matter of *fact*, and his most *probable* and convincing reasons in matter of *argument*.

"I am as sure, as I can be of any thing, that Dr. Gauden made the extract out of this Book, called, I think, *Apophthegmata Caroliniana*. I am sorry I

[3] *True Account*. P. 7.

have not one by me, to give a fuller account of it. But the thing is most notorious, that there was such a Book came out, in a very short time after, printed by Mr. Dugard. Now, why should Dr. Gauden concern himself so much more than any other of the King's friends, and dispatch it," (the *Apophtheg. Carol.)*, " with such expedition, had he had no more concern in it than other men: and had not been enabled to finish it so speedily; and could with such readiness take it in pieces, and digest it into wise and weighty sentences, who had put it together, and whose thoughts had dwelt so long and so much upon it[4]?"

I do not question for an instant, that it was " notorious" enough, that such a Book came out as is here mentioned. And happening to have one by me, I might, if it were worth the while, " give a fuller account of it."—I would rather follow Dr. Walker's example, and indulge in a little speculation. Looking then at this very humble volume, I see that it consists merely of extracts from, and references to the *Icôn Basilikè*, without a single word of Preface, Comment, or Observation; and hence I should say, that it was in no sort *probable*, that the Author of *Icôn Basilikè*, whoever he might be, would " concern himself, and dispatch such a trifle as that, with whatever degree of expedition." Such a man, at such a time, must have had a great deal more anxious, and more important concerns in hand.

[4] *True Account.* P. 8.

Were I convinced, therefore, that Gauden compiled the *Apophthegmata*, to me it would be an argument, not that he *did*, but that he *did not* write the *Icón*. But at a time when every thing that bore the name of the King would sell, and would command a price more than ordinary, it was probable enough that some Printer, or Corrector of the Press, might put out this small volume, to accommodate the taste or the pocket of the lowliest purchaser. How probable was this, when the copies of so small a book as the *Icón*, were selling at that time of day at half-a-guinea a piece, and even for twice that sum! And, accordingly, leaving speculation, thus we are positively assured it was. "It was not Dr. Gauden, but Dr. Hooker that made that Extract; the same Dr. Hooker who corrected the sheets when the Book was printed at Mr. Dugard's press: and Dr. Walker himself tells us, that the *Apophthegmata* was printed by Mr. Dugard. And Dr. Hooker hath attested this several times, and given it under his hand, and which I have at this time in my hands; and Mr. Long printed his attestation many years before he died [5]."

Now, my Lord, unless I greatly deceive myself, I have in these very few remarks disposed of nearly all that is of any importance, whether in Dr. Walker's testimony, or in his arguments.

Neither will the Doctor's motives for writing this work increase our estimate of the value of his labours.

[5] *Wagstaffe's Vindication.* P. 44.

He does not appear to have been stimulated to his undertaking by the importance of the subject, the love of truth, an attachment to the memory of his early friend and patron, or a desire to unburthen his conscience,—so much as by the mere wish to vindicate himself against the public reproaches of Dr. Hollingworth. At the very beginning of his work, he speaks of his wish to have been "saved this unexpected and unwelcome labour." Again, (in p. 22,) he tells us, that he had been desired to answer another Book, on the same subject, (its title *The Restitution to the Royal Author*), which had been published some months before Dr. Hollingworth's; but "this he had forborne to do, not *being personally concerned. But Dr. Hollingworth has forced me to what I have now done.*" And in p. 34, "I shall conclude this labour, *not chosen by me, but imposed upon me by Dr. H.* for my *own vindication,* and to wipe off his false accusation of being guilty of a false story."

There is another passage, intimately connected with this part of the subject, which gives us such a Picture of Dr. Walker's Principles of *Casuistry,* and the nature of his *Moral Sense,* and is so requisite, therefore, to enable us the better to estimate him truly, that I must not withhold it. The passage is introduced for the purpose of "freely owning *the reasons* for which occasionally, *in conversation,* and when he *had been desired to do it,* he had declared the substance of what Dr. Hollingworth had now *forced* him to write:" though this, he says, "he had not

done in any measure to that degree, which Dr. H. hath taken the liberty to represent it."

"And first, *negatively*. This I did, *not* to rob that excellent King of any honour which was properly due to him; no man of my rank loving him better, or valuing him more, while he lived: or more abhorring his murder, or bewailing his death; or, in my station, giving more open testimony against it; or sustaining greater loss for so doing. But I need not vindicate myself in a case wherein I never heard myself accused or suspected. "But, secondly, *positively*. The reason why I have done what I own, was, because, as *we must not speak wickedly for God, nor talk deceitfully for him*, (Job xiii. 7.) neither may we do so for any man, even not for those who are called Gods.

"'Tis a well known, and as well approved a saying of St. Augustine, *An officious lie ought not to be told to save the whole world*. And I cannot deny, but there was more than an appearance of some pious fraud in this affair, which I should by my silence have contributed to the maintaining of, when I was required to speak my knowledge of it.

"And though God had many holy, righteous, gracious ends to serve his providence by, in the publication of this Book: as, to render the murder of so good a King the more abhorred, to awaken many to repentance, who had contributed to it, (as I have heard it did); to dispose the nation to recall, and with acclamation of joy, to receive the returning Royal Family, and many more: Yet as I find it ex-

pressed in this Book, (Chap. the last, page 262 of the 1st. edition), " *God's wise* Providence (we know) oft permits many events which his revealed word, (the only clear, safe, and fixed rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approves." And I confess I have many cogent reasons to persuade me that God was not well pleased with *Dr. Gauden*, others, or *myself*, for what we contributed to it.

" And though for the aforesaid ends, and many others, he suffered it to succeed, yet I know not but he may have other ends now to serve, by suffering this discovery to be wrung and wrested from me, (I had almost said), by some body's impertinent affectation to meddle with what he understands not.

" However, it would be hard measure, and such as other men would be loth to have meted to themselves, not to suffer a man to reveal that, by concealing which he fears God is displeased, and so to necessitate him to labour under a continued uneasiness and dissatisfaction of his own mind. And if for avoiding this any be offended, I cannot help it. I only calmly entreat them to judge whether it be more expedient to please them than God? and in cool blood to consider what I have honestly and sincerely written. If it convince not, if it satisfy them not, let them retain their former sentiments. 'Tis at this distance of time, (being more than forty-three years) of no consequence whether it were so, or so; I am sure, not of any equal concern of any body to know it, as it is to me when put upon to discover it, for it would involve me in some guilt to

refuse it, in such circumstances; which I cannot see the danger of to other men wholly strangers to the affair, how different soever their opinions be, if they do not maliciously slander them who cannot be of their minds, till they be convinced by stronger arguments than those upon which my persuasion is grounded."

But, finally, Dr. Walker has *recapitulated* his argument; and thus has stated the condition in which he is willing to leave the question with his Readers. With this extract I shall close my citations. It follows immediately upon the words which I have last quoted, and finishes the pamphlet.

—" 'Till they be convinced by stronger arguments than those upon which my persuasion is grounded; which I concisely will here recapitulate, though I entreat the Reader to review the two sections," (those namely which I have transcribed).

1. " When Dr. Gauden shewed me the heads of the designed chapters, and those he had written, I asked him how he satisfied himself so to impose upon the world? His answer was, *Look upon the title; 'Tis the Portraiture, and none draws his own Picture.*

2. " When we returned from Bishop Duppa's, he told me the Bishop had propounded two subjects more to be written on, but desired him to finish what remained, and he would prepare two chapters on those subjects.

3. " He told me he sent a copy to the King, in the Isle of Wight, by the Marquess of Hertford, and

humbly desired to know his Majesty's pleasure concerning it.

4. " He told me the Duke of York knew he wrote it, and owned it to him to be a seasonable and good service.

5. " His wife, some others, and myself, believed it as firmly as we could do any matter of fact; and there is no shadow of appearance why he should put so gross a cheat upon us all. For, it was before it was finished, we so believed. And, therefore, he had not the temptation to steal the applause it met with when made publick.

6. " He delivered to me with his own hand what was last sent up, which I carried with me to London, December 25, 1648.

" These are the reasons why I believe, as I do, the *affirmative* part of the question, that Dr. Gauden was the Author: and as I believe I have also spoken. And if any man can produce stronger reasons for the *negative* part, I do not say only I *will*, but that I *must* believe, that contrary part. For no man who considers can believe as he lists, but the weightiest arguments will turn the scale.

" And if any will be so charitable as to reclaim me from an error he supposes me in; I even beseech him to write nothing for the truth of which he does not make the like appeals to God that I have done. For, if he attempt it by raillery or railing, by feeble conjectures or stories inconsistent with themselves, or contradicting one another, he may with more discretion spare his pains. For as no wise

man will be influenced further by such tools, than to pity them who use them, or make themselves merry; so I confess I am so tired with examining such ware, and so cloyed with such *kick-shaws*, I shall have no stomach to such fare, or think myself concerned to take notice of it[6]."

And thus, my Lord, we have had before us the full weight and strength of the Essex Doctor. Hence, after considering the whole of his pamphlet carefully, and taking into the account what is known of his history, I am compelled to declare, that, *from* the motives upon which he writes; and the very inadequate notions which he entertains of the *importance* of his subject; *from* the errors into which he has fallen; *from* the confidence with which he asserts as facts, what are not only without, but against proof; *from* the personal feelings and controversial eagerness diffused through the whole; *from* the striking appearances, in some parts, of a talent of framing his story in a shape to answer before-hand the objections which he anticipated would be urged against it; and *from* the paucity of special, circumstantial, and authentic details,—in my opinion his testimony adds very little indeed, to that side of the question. He himself has told us, that Gauden and he were seldom in private, but somewhat was discoursed of this Book, even to the last time he saw him, after he was Bishop of Worcester *Elect;* I suspect, therefore, that all his knowledge was an after-infusion on the part of Gau-

[6] P. 36, 37.

den, feeling the necessity of some additional evidence to support his claim. And without accusing Walker of any direct intention to deceive on the main subject of his argument, I cannot but think, from the circumstances mentioned, and from the consideration of the weakness and folly of his reasonings, that he was very little more at first than a tool and dupe in the hands of Gauden; and that afterwards embarking in the question controversially, he has supported his side of the argument by such means as presented themselves.

Thus far, with respect to Dr. Walker.—I have not a much higher opinion of the value of what we derive from Mrs. Gauden. I doubt whether the Wife does not mar the cause just as much as the Curate. Perhaps, however, we may leave her for the present; to take her chance of standing or falling with the fortunes of her Husband.

But, again it is asked, respecting another part of our materials, "What are we to say? What account, after all, can be given of the *silence* and the other conduct of Lord Clarendon? and of the *testimony* of the two Royal Brothers?"

This, (I mean particularly what concerns Lord Clarendon), this I own, this I still maintain, is a matter of very great difficulty. Nevertheless, the mass of evidence which we have now seen there is on the side of the King, will have brought us into a state of mind, to view this difficulty with more composure; with much less of prejudice, than we were

exposed to at the beginning. And the flat contradictions, the absolute irreconcileableness, of the accounts of the two contending parties, as they justify, so they require our returning again to this topic; and endeavouring to make up our minds, in some sort, to that view of the subject, to which, upon the whole, the probabilities shall seem most to incline.

In the former part of this letter, I offered some remarks upon this portion of our subject, under two different aspects:

First, I supposed Clarendon, after he had obtained the knowledge of Gauden's appalling secret, to have kept the debate upon it solely to his own bosom.

And, secondly, I adverted also to the supposition, (certainly seemingly a probable one,) that if not satisfied from his own stores, (one way, or the other,) he would, after obtaining the permission of his royal Master, make application to his friends; and especially would communicate with those individuals to whom Gauden had expressly referred him.

Upon reconsidering the subject, (difficult as the supposition is, without granting, at the same time, that it implies, the concession of a strong probability of Clarendon's opinion of the truth of Gauden's claim, or, at least, of his inability to disprove it,) I own, I still incline, upon the whole, to abide by the former hypothesis. My reasons for this conclusion are of the following nature.

I believe, that Lord Clarendon forbore to speak upon this secret; that he never consulted any one

of those individuals, or their connexions, to whom Gauden had referred him. I believe, I say, that he did not; *because* I can find no evidence, not a whisper, that he ever did. His mind, doubtless, was exercised; but I cannot learn, that he ever told his grief. Further, I believe, he did not; *because*, if he had, I cannot think it probable, that a man of his weight of judgment and authority would, in that case, have been found on one side of this question, (I mean, if the fact of Clarendon's silence is to be taken as any strong presumption, that the leaning of his mind was *against* the King,) and *all* his own *friends*, and all the King's, to a man, (to say nothing of their *enemies*,) on the other: that is, he alone, having been *changed* by Gauden's communication, and they, one and all, retaining the same faith that they held at the beginning. I think further, that he did not consult his friends, *because*, if any lips had once been opened, I think it hardly possible, that a total silence could have been preserved, and persevered in till death, respecting their *difference* of opinion, the discussion, and the arguments on each side, upon so curious and interesting a topic. Lord Hertford, it is true, was dead. But Bishop Duppa was not. And Morley, his own intimate friend, lived a great many years. Juxon too was living, and Sheldon, and Earle, and Barwick, and Warwick, and Legge, and many others, his own intimate friends and acquaintance, all of whom believed and maintained that the book was the King's. Had Clarendon consulted Morley alone, I verily believe,

that he alone, (from his connexion with Lord Capel, and Symmons, and Dr. Earle, and his own particular opportunities of personal knowledge,) could have satisfied the Chancellor that his fears were unfounded, and that credit must not be given to Dr. Gauden: or, he would have put him into a way of obtaining that satisfaction from other quarters. Had the discussion once been entered upon, the King's private servants, Herbert, Levet, Reading, and all the other best-informed persons, Royston, the Correctors of the press, Oudart, &c. &c. must have been summoned: a thorough investigation would have been made: and then, it could not have been possible, but that the same sort of evidence, which, we have seen, continued to subsist in great abundance, even so long as thirty years after, must, in part at least, have come out, and probably even to a much greater extent, than we now possess it: and then, Clarendon, like the rest, would have been convinced *for* the King; or, supposing it to be otherwise, certainly I think it utterly incredible, that the facts would not have got abroad first, of the making the investigation; and next, that the parties had separated unsatisfied: that Lord Clarendon was on one side, and all the rest of the world, (unless perhaps we add the further exception of the King's two sons,) were on the other.

Upon the whole, then, I believe that Clarendon never opened his lips to any one; not to Morley; not to his own sons; not to Duppa; to no one, except, (probably) where he would think *duty* re-

quired; that is, to the King: (which perhaps will sufficiently account, in conjunction with other circumstances, resulting from their moral and religious state, for the leaning of the King's mind, and the Duke of York's, the same way with Clarendon's; supposing I mean, as before, that his silence is to be considered as a strong presumption of the leaning of Clarendon's own mind against the King.)

And wherefore, then, did he not enquire? Why, was Clarendon silent?

Was it because he was overpowered and appalled by those confident letters of Gauden? Or, because some additional evidence from Gauden, or elsewhere, fell in his way, of which we now know nothing? Or, finally, was it merely because he felt that the controversy would be untimely and inexpedient; more especially because he feared whether he might be able to produce evidence for the King, sufficient to satisfy the world?

I own, my Lord, I think that the first and the last of these suppositions are the only ones which are supported by the slightest degree of probability.

Therefore, with respect to the first, perhaps, we shall be of opinion that some excuse is to be made for Lord Clarendon, in thus conducting himself. Here is a Divine of considerable learning and reputation, recently promoted to a Bishopric, who writes these Letters to the Prime Minister, and refers him to several individuals, now living, as vouchers of his claim. Does not it seem morally impossible, that any man could do this, unless the persons were able

to avouch that for which they are appealed to? Who is there, that when he first reads these Letters, is not amazed and appalled, by the boldness and the pertinacity of the claim? Mr. Todd, who well knew that the question had been much and long controverted, no sooner reads them, than he pronounces the dispute to be settled for ever. And who is there that would not, for the first impression, be almost ashamed of feeling and thinking otherwise?

Perhaps, too, the relation which had subsisted between himself and the King, in some degree of a kindred nature with that which was now asserted by Gauden, might have its effect, in lulling the suspicions, or even in humouring the prejudices of this great man. Clarendon knew very well, that he himself had been the sole author of very many of those State Papers, which had been produced at the council board, written wholly in the King's own hand[7], and issued from the Council in the King's name: and respecting which he must often have been compelled to sit-by in silence, and hear them pronounced by zealous loyalists, to be wholly the wise, magnanimous, and masterly productions of the royal mind. Perhaps, I say, this great man might be taken at a disadvantage, from his own peculiar circumstances: so that it is not impossible there might be, on this account also, something less of suspicion when Gauden's claim arose, and less of

[7] Clarendon's *Life*. P. 55.

enquiry and investigation, than we should otherwise have expected.

Being then *mastered* and *appalled*, perhaps I may almost say, being *prejudiced*, he feels no necessity for enquiry, at the moment of communication,—and therefore he keeps silence.

But again. The King had designed the transaction not to be known; Clarendon, therefore, (as a faithful servant,) has no other thoughts and purposes, than those of his Master. He feels he has no right to touch upon this secret to any one, unless solely for the sake of evincing its falsehood. Now Dr. Morley, and Duppa, and Lord Hertford, appealed to as its vouchers, must have known something on the subject, and yet they had been in possession of this same secret for many years, and never touched upon it to him; which they must have done, upon every principle of duty, had they not feared it might be true. They had been silent under it: he must be so likewise. If he meddled with it at all; the thing would needs get abroad. "It would cease to be a secret: and would please none but Mr. Milton." Therefore, he would be silent. Let Gauden make the claim public, if he pleased. Then, he should himself be free from all responsibility on that score: but till then, so dangerous would the discovery be, if true: so painful, and even so injurious, if false; till then, he would be quiet and silent.

But, it will be objected, Could not Clarendon

have judged from *internal evidence*, whether the work was the King's? The King could undertake to detect Clarendon by his pen: witness his wager with Lord Falkland, that he could do it, in the hand of a stranger, and among any multitude of other writings. Might not he be expected to have done as much by a whole volume, in the case of the King? True: one would have looked that this should be so: and accordingly, his first impressions were as satisfactory as possible, on that head.

At the beginning, when the work first came out, Lord Clarendon, as I shall shew, on another occasion, felt no doubt whatever of the Book being the King's. This we may fairly consider, as by no means an unimportant circumstance. The first impressions, the native, unconstrained suggestions of such a mind, cannot fail to have a certain degree of value with us: and some, perhaps, may say, that they will appeal from his "second thoughts," and hold by the first, as better. Still, not to give to this consideration a weight beyond its due, we must bear in mind, that Clarendon's belief, at the first, could not, probably, arise so much from his own knowledge, as from what he had *heard* by the *testimony* of others, and from his *reasonings* upon the *probabilities* of the case. For, in truth, during almost the last four years of the life of the King, (from March 1644-5), Sir Edward Hyde, after receiving his commission to be of the Prince's council in the West, had never seen his Sovereign: and during a

great part of that time, (the most important by far in the history and composition of the *Icon*), from some unhappy misunderstandings which arose, there had been very little intercourse between them even by letter. Besides, at the time of Gauden preferring the claim, Clarendon had been fourteen years out of England. Hence, he had not enjoyed the same advantages, which many others of the King's servants did, for knowing, or for discovering the truth, upon this necessarily retired, and somewhat sacred subject. Even his Sons, the Editors of his History, in their dedication to Queen Anne, mention, with some degree of complaint, the "short and imperfect informations," which he, "being abroad, *could* have of the transactions after the war was ended, and especially just before and after the barbarous murder of the blessed King:" periods these, unquestionably much the most important in our question. As, therefore, Clarendon's first impressions, though undoubtedly valuable, are not, comparatively with those of others, of quite so much account on the side of Charles, as some perhaps may suppose: so again, when Gauden advanced his claim, and urged it in those peremptory and unbending terms which we have seen, the Chancellor was not altogether so well prepared to meet it, as some others might have been.

Upon the whole then I think, and I regard it as deeply to be regretted, that Lord Clarendon, whatever the cause may have been, lost the benefit

which, I doubt not, he might have had by a less scrupulous secrecy. He missed the *certa piacula:* the

> —— *Verba et voces; quibus hunc lenire dolorem*
> *Posset, et magnam morbi deponere partem.*

But, if this account will not satisfy; if the notions which I have thrown out cannot be entertained; then I would further suggest, that Lord Clarendon, perhaps, was not so far influenced by the confident pretensions of Gauden, as we have been willing to allow. The whole meaning of his silence may be, that he felt the controversy would be every way a most inexpedient one. Perhaps he might (like Bishop Kennett) merely think that the King was not the *sole* author of the Book. He might be of opinion, that there was possibly a union of labours, not easy to be disentangled, and apportioned respectively. Or, taking the matter in another light, he might think, perhaps, that he should experience much difficulty and embarrassment, in publicly establishing the King's claim at all;—Lord Hertford and Symmons being dead, and so many years having gone by. The controversy, whatever turn it might take, was a highly inexpedient one, provided only that Gauden could be kept quiet: especially it was inexpedient, as respected the King. By no possibility could his fame gain any thing by it. "No man in his senses," (as we saw), doubted then of his claim. The discussion, therefore, as regarded him, would be altogether gratuitous, or worse; even if it ended favor-

ably. The mere proposing the question for discussion, would be apt to excite suspicions and jealousies, which it would certainly not be easy to lay to sleep again.

Further, (as I have already slightly intimated), it might be not without its influence upon Lord Clarendon, that he could not but feel deep regret, if investigations, undertaken by a Minister of the Crown, should terminate in disgrace and infamy to a Bishop; at that season more especially, when it was of the utmost importance, both to the success of *his* labours and *theirs*, that, in the re-settlement of the Church, the Prelates should be beloved and respected by the people. He might, perhaps, be not without fear, that there was a probability that Gauden would not come out of this fiery trial, into which he was precipitately casting himself, without much loss and damage. He might, perhaps, incline to think, that his services in respect of the composition, the revisal, or the publication of this volume, might indeed have been something, (as we know Symmons's and Walker's were, in the *last* particular), and yet that they fell infinitely short of what was pretended. We know very well, that the Chancellor was uncomplying and sullen to Gauden; is it not possible, that this might be in part, because he was incredulous?

Lastly. Gauden soon died. Perhaps before Clarendon had yet had leisure to obtain all the opportunity which he might have promised himself for contemplation, or for enquiry. After that event, the claim of the King continuing altogether as much unquestioned as before, he would needs *then* think any

public discussion upon this subject, still less desirable than ever.

These, my Lord, are my thoughts, upon this difficult portion of our subject. Either Clarendon feared that Gauden's claim was true; or, secondly, he feared that he could not convincingly manifest its falsehood.—I am far from being of opinion that these suppositions entirely remove the difficulties; but I do think, that they considerably extenuate them. I confess that there is much left that is not wholly satisfactory: and further lights are required. Nor do I despair of their discovery, even at this late day. The stress of the difficulty, I think, is not so much, to account for Clarendon's conduct *at the time;* as that he should *afterwards* have written so much, and lived so long, with the best opportunities for a discovery of the truth, and yet have left the subject at his death, in the same impenetrable gloom of silence, obscurity, and mystery; as he appears to have thought, (not without cause), was the only reception due to it from himself, at the first communication. Clarendon, we are to remember, survived to the time when probably Charles II, had not scrupled to say, that the work was not his Father's: and, therefore, why should Clarendon, with all his tenderness for the memory of his Master, or with all the official point of honor of a Statesman, shrink from making the same confession, and scruple to withhold his convictions from the world, if they were *against* the King; or, of *whatever kind* they were?

But then, indeed, has Lord Clarendon been so

utterly silent in the matter, as we have supposed? Certainly I know no place but one, in all that he has left behind him of formal composition, whether of the nature of tractate, speech, essay, or history, where, even by accommodation, or allusion, he may appear to have had his own mind turned, or to be desirous of turning the minds of his readers towards the *Icôn Basilikè*. One place, however, there is, and the passage is curious. I will beg leave to produce it.

"The King took that occasion to write the ensuing letter to the Prince with his own hand: which was *so lively an expression of his own soul, that no pen else could have written it:* and deserves to be transmitted to posterity, *as a part of the Portraiture* of that excellent person[8]."

Let us fix our eyes steadily upon these words. Do they not seem to be expressions which might proceed from one who believed (after all) that the *Royal Image* was the King's? "*A part of the Portraiture;*" surely those words have either a direct, or at least an indirect reference to the *Icôn*. A "Portraiture" his Majesty has left behind him; and it is such, that this which I am about to cite, from my own private stores, may well deserve to be added to it: being, like that, "so lively an expression of his own soul," that, (like that) "no pen else could have written it:" and this, therefore, like

[8] *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. II. p. 1019, Book IX.

that, "deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as an additional trait or feature in the Portraiture of that excellent Prince[9]."

But, we must speak the truth. A second time I am bound to say, that all that we have from Lord Clarendon, in this dispute, is not confined merely to suppression and silence. Passing beyond the limits of his Lordship's *Formal* writings, there is another sentence from his pen, which certainly, and for a contrary reason to that which has been just noticed, demands attention. It is part of a letter to Gauden, which fell into the hands of the opponents of the King, and concerning which I have already expressed regret, that the rest of it has never been given to the world. "The particular you mention has indeed been imparted to me as a secret.

[9] The principal part of the History of the Rebellion had been written before the date of Gauden making his claim; written, therefore, either before the publication of the work, or while there was yet no doubt on the noble Historian's mind, but that it was the King's. I have sometimes thought, it would be a matter of curious search for those who have the opportunity, to examine the original manuscript, if it be still extant (it is certain that the MS. of the *Life* is at Oxford, and that MS., the Editors tell us, contains the *substance* of the *History*), with a view to ascertain, whether there had been any thing written at first upon this subject, which was subsequently erased or rejected. If such a change took place in Clarendon's mind, from Gauden's claim, as we have supposed, then corresponding alterations in the MS. might be expected: while, if this should not appear to have been the case, the omission from the first to treat of the *Icón Basilikè*, would doubtless be very surprising; but, in fact, there are other very surprising omissions in Clarendon's History.

I may add, however, that considering the great pains which the two sons took in perusing and revising the MS. before its publication, I think it not probable, that any such account of the *Icón*, and any such erasures, as I have supposed, will be found. Had that been the case, I think it not possible that Henry Earl of Clarendon could have expressed himself in the manner he has, in a letter to Mr. Wagstaffe, which will be given below, and which was written when the MS. was transcribing for the press.

I am sorry I ever knew it: and when it ceases to be a secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton[1]." The date of this letter is March 13, 1661, i. e. 1662, according to our modern computation.

The turn of language in the first words of this extract appears remarkable. "The particular you mention has indeed been imparted to me as a secret." It seems remarkable, I say, that Clarendon should fall into these ways of expressing himself, (The *Particular*—the Particular *you mention*—the Particular you mention has *indeed been imparted to me*), when we consider that fourteen months before, Gauden himself had addressed to Clarendon, and Clarendon had received from Gauden (if he ever *did* receive) the following words: "This book and figure was wholly and only my invention, making, and design:" together with all the rest of that his elaborate story and expostulation. It must be recollected, however, that we want the context: and that particles and fragments are not to be examined too scrupulously.

We will pass on, therefore, to the words which follow. "I am sorry I ever knew it, &c." I doubt whether this is precisely the language which you like to receive, especially if it is to be all that you are to receive on such a subject from the hand of such a man as Clarendon. The expressions appear to imply more than one wishes, of dislike to the business, and of pique and temper respecting it; a mood of mind indisposed to investigation, and unfa-

[1] *Truth brought to Light.* 1698. 4to. P. 37. See also Toland's *Life of Milton*, 1761. P. 76. And his *Amyntor*. P. 211.

vourable to the discovery of truth. Are *We* now "sorry" to hear of the publication of Gauden's Letters from the Lambeth Library? Do we say, that the reading of them will give pleasure to nobody but Mr. *Such-an-one*, and the rest? No such thing. We are glad, for the sake of the Truth. She, we hope, is not so deep immersed in the well, but that, even yet, she may be drawn forth into the open sight of day; and, let her speak; whether it be to utter the name of Gauden, or of Charles. Had it not been for this letter, and for other circumstances to which allusion has in part already been made, I should have said it was impossible, but that Clarendon must, immediately and anxiously, have investigated the claim of Gauden. As it now is, I have a strong opinion that he did not enquire; that he did not examine the question to the extent and degree which he ought to have done. Here is a document written more than fourteen months after Gauden's first communication, and from the tone of expression, it would appear that Clarendon had acquiesced under the pretensions of Gauden, and had, up to that time, made no enquiries of the persons to whom the Bishop had referred him.

In the early part of this letter, when I was pleading as the advocate for Gauden, I represented Lord Clarendon weighing the claim of the Bishop with great solicitude; reflecting deeply upon the Book and the Letters; and applying himself to the requisite investigation, with equal promptitude and patience. All this I supposed, as judging it the natural

and the creditable proceeding for Clarendon. But, after the progress that we have made, I am now compelled to say, that there are considerable portions of this representation, which I do not find sufficient evidence to substantiate. Whatever the cause might be, I cannot perceive that he received the tidings in a temper of mind propitious to investigation. It appears, I think, unquestionably, that he did not consult Morley; and if not Morley then, none of the persons to whom Gauden had referred him. Neither do I find, that he ever held any conversation on the subject, even with Gauden. I do not find that he ever put him to his proofs; asked for more evidence; or enquired into the validity of his vouchers. He appears to have been sullen and displeased; and to have acted in a way that gave the Gaudens opportunity to pretend that he was envious of the Bishop's service; and wished to keep the whole matter a secret. But I see no signs that this course of proceeding was the result of any thing of elaborate examination. No doubt, he received, and read the letters of Gauden: but strange as the supposition is, I cannot find that he did any thing more.

Now, in this case, assuredly, my Lord, all the weight can on no account be due, in our calculations on this subject, to Lord Clarendon's silence, and to the rest of his conduct, which, at the first thought, we all feel disposed to impute to it. And thus, from this second mention of the matter of the *Icón* by Lord Clarendon, the things most to be in-

ferred, are his too great reliance upon Gauden, and his omitting to institute the requisite enquiries.

But if there was towards the world so much reserve and silence, on the part of Clarendon, as we have seen, there appears likewise to have existed something further, something beyond silence, something approaching almost to sullenness, to open displeasure or opposition, in his demeanor towards the Bishop, even as we have it reported from that side of the question.

Gauden, no doubt, obtained a promotion; though not the one he desired. But are we certain that he got it by the means, or even with the good will, or even without the opposition of Clarendon? Himself says, in one of the Lambeth Letters, the first indeed which he wrote to the Earl of Bristol; referring, I am well persuaded, both to Clarendon and Morley: "Nor do I find your Lordship, *as I have two other persons*, looking with an oblique or envious eye upon that which was the effect of a just and generous loyalty[2]." And Mrs. Gauden, with the same reference, tells us that she saw "some persons who were privy to it, desired nothing more than to have it concealed and buried in oblivion." If Gauden held Clarendon in his chains, is it not apparent that the yoke was borne impatiently; that the noble captive champed and fretted against the meshes of his net? And, who can be sure, that there was nothing in the matter, but only an "evil eye;" nothing but sheer envy, in the breasts of these

[2] *Todd's Life of Walton.* Vol. I. P. 139.

two distinguished individuals? Is it not fully as possible that Clarendon's feelings might partake of something of distrust; something of uneasiness and aversion, as from a mind not well at ease, not satisfied in itself; nor with the other mind with which it was constrained to hold intercourse?

Then, again: if we may give credit to any thing which we receive from Walker, we have an account from him in reference to Clarendon at this very same moment; and he favors us, (though it be thirty years after they were spoken,) with what he calls "Bishop Gauden's *own words* to him upon that occasion."

"But the third morning, having been fully informed, that my Lord Chancellor had, by himself and all the interest he could make, pressed the King to bestow the Bishoprick of Winchester upon the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Morley, I thus addressed myself to his Majesty: Sir, with all humility, I beg your leave to speak to you, and your Majesty's gracious pardon for it. Sir, I well know, not only how well becoming, but how much it is the duty of every good subject, to contribute to the ease and satisfaction of his Prince. And I cannot but conceive that your Majesty is in some strait, between the honor of your word, by which you generously pleased to promise, I should succeed my excellent friend the late Bishop of Winchester, and *the importunity*, by which you are pressed in the behalf of another. I, therefore, with greatest willingness, release you freely of that promise. Here, said the Bishop, the King stopt me; vouchsafed to embrace

me in his arms, with these expressions, My Lord, I thank you; and it may not be long ere I have opportunity to shew you, how kindly I take it. And, in the mean time, you shall have Worcester, and, to make it to you as good as I can, all the dignities of that Church," &c[3].

I have given rather more in this extract than was wanted for my immediate purpose. But I was tempted to proceed, for the sake of shewing in what strains Dr. Walker can write: and what I have produced is, I doubt not, in *reality*, what it appears in semblance; much more fiction, than fact; much more romance, than true history. Clarendon, then, was not so entirely besotted by the baleful secret which he had imbibed, as to be wholly given over to the slavish service of Gauden. And might not this be, because he was in no sort convinced that Gauden's pretensions were true?

But to proceed another step in this history. I am not certain, that Clarendon, not only did not favor, but that he might not, perhaps, oppose the further preferment of Gauden; which, if it were the case, might be, perhaps, because, though he feared he could not successfully disprove, he did not believe the claim.

There is something very *critical*, (shall I be premature, if I say something very *characteristic*,) in the *date* of the commencement of Gauden's correspondence with the Earl of Bristol. His first Letter,

[3] *True Account*, &c. P. 17.

that same in which he speaks of *the oblique and envious eye* of Clarendon, was written March 20. In a Letter, written the very next day, containing the news of the times, from Dr. Pett to Archbishop Bramhall, I read as follows: "The *Bishop of Winchester living many days to an end is despaired of:*" and physicians speak doubtfully of the Duke of Albemarle[4]." In fact, the venerable Prelate died five days after. Gauden, therefore, must needs be stirring: and he will not merely conciliate a second friend, but will actually change his patron: one reason for which was, that he was grievously discontented with Clarendon; to whom he writes, in pointed reference to himself and to Morley, "I am forced now not to be wanting to myself; nor to rely too much on other men's justice and ingenuity."

For his change of patron, however, there was a second and special reason. It was not merely, that Clarendon *would not*, but Gauden began to see also, that perhaps he *could not* help him.

I am compelled to notice, that there was something very critical, (and shall I add, a second time, that there was something very *characteristic?*) as in the *commencement*, so also in the *prosecution* of this fulsome and hateful correspondence with the Earl of Bristol. The truth is, that at this very time, Clarendon, for his virtues, was fallen out of favor with his Sovereign; and the star which now shone at court

[4] *The Rawdon Papers*, faithfully printed from the originals, by the Rev. Edward Berwick. 1819. 8vo. P. 144.

was the Earl of Bristol. And already a most bitter hostility had begun, between those formerly close and affectionate friends. Three days before Gauden was elected Bishop of Worcester, we have (London, May 20, 1662,) the following passage, in another Letter of the same Dr. Pett to Archbishop Bramhall:—

"My Lord of Bristol is every day more and more adored by the people, as judging him to grow daily more the King's favorite: which Lord did lately, and not very privately, at Whitehall, (as I have it from very good hands,) speak against the Chancellor, before the King, using these words: 'When your Majesty was first restored, there was an universal current of the affections of the people that ran strongly toward you. Your Majesty was then in a condition to have been an arbitrator of all the public controversies in Christendom; and you were in a capacity of having with ease greater revenues, and a fuller exchequer, than ever any King of England had: but the variety of discontents among the people is now too notorious, and we are not formidable to other parts of the world, and the dearth of money, requisite for your Majesty's affairs, is but too apparent; and these mischiefs we must and will charge upon your Minister of State, the Chancellor.' Whereupon the King was not observed to check the Earl of Bristol for that liberty of speech; or, to vindicate the Chancellor. Sir Harry Bennet, who is looked on as no good friend of the Chancellor, is likewise looked on to be grown of late as great a favorite as any is.

He is reported to be shortly made Earl of Monmouth[5]."

And thus, my Lord, from these further particulars, respecting Lord Clarendon, I am by no means certain that his mind was decided for Gauden, and against the King.

But, yet again: Do we not possess another (a *third*) instance of Lord Clarendon's opening his lips upon this delicate subject? After all, did he not confer about it with his friend Morley; and, in such a sense, as to imply no doubt of the validity of Gauden's claim?

True: this may be said to be the case, if we are to believe Dr. Gauden. "Dr. Morley," says the Bishop to Lord Clarendon, "I was sure knew it:" (knew, namely, that he (Gauden) was the author of *Icón Basilikè*,) "and told me your Lordship did so too."

These particulars would be very much to the purpose, if they could be confided in. But in the first place, had Clarendon this knowledge which is imputed to him?—No such thing. Had Morley told Gauden that Clarendon had?—I very much doubt it. I cannot think it probable. I guess that the Bishop laboured under a mistake. Thirdly, Did Morley himself know, and tell Gauden that he knew, his *great arcanum*?—I guess that it might not be so: I believe that all this was quite otherwise.

[5] *Rawdon Papers.* P. 164.

With respect to the first of these three points, we find by a subsequent Letter of Gauden's, that Clarendon had disclaimed the knowledge with which Gauden had invested him; and therefore the Bishop now says, "True, *I once presumed* your Lordship had fully known that *arcanum:* for, so Dr. Morley told me, at the King's first coming, when he assured me the greatness of that service was such, that I might have any preferment I desired. This consciousness of your Lordship, *(as I supposed,)* and Dr. Morley, made me confident my affairs would be carried on to some proportion of what I had done, and he thought deserved [6]." Next: as to the *second* particular. Here, no doubt, Gauden expressly taxes Morley with having told him, that the Chancellor was conscious of this great *arcanum*. Therefore, I now ask, "But whether is more probable, that he should mistake in this particular, or that Morley, in any case, and especially in one like the present, should say of his friend that which was not true?"

Again. Even Gauden himself, in other places, has expressed the purport of these interviews with Morley, somewhat differently; not with any reference so specially limited to the *Icón*. "Dr. Morley once offered me my option, upon the account of *some service* that he thought I had done, extraordinary, for the Church and Royal Family, of which he told me your Lordship was informed [7]." And

[6] Clarendon *State Papers*. Vol. III. Appendix. P. xxix.
[7] Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. III. P. xxviii.

again. "I insist much upon what Dr. Morley, now Bishop of Worcester, frankly told me, after the King's first coming to Whitehall, that I might have what preferment I desired, such an esteem he then put on me, and *the services* he knew I had done[8]." The expressions of service, here, are not peculiar to the *Icón*, but of a more general character. Since, then, he *certainly* erred about Clarendon's knowledge; and *probably* erred about Morley's telling him of that knowledge; is it not *possible*, when these propositions are all so intimately connected, that he *might*, also, lie under some mistake with respect to the former part of the assertion, "Dr. Morley I was sure knew it?" This, under the circumstances, is not impossible; perhaps, we shall think it not altogether *unlikely*, if we consider, that nothing at all is known, (except from the Gaudens,) of Morley possessing any special information of real or pretended services from Gauden, in relation at least to the writing of the *Icón Basilikè*; whereas, he believed the King to be the author; and further, there is every probability, that, (especially from his intimate connexion with Symmons and with Dr. Earle,) he knew much of the King's connexion with that work; and therefore to hear of another claimant, if he himself had not been a party to the forgery from the beginning, must have been matter of great interest and surprise; and, lastly, perhaps we shall think it extremely probable, that Gauden *did*

[8] Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. III. P. xcv.

lie under such a mistake as we are speaking of, when he said, "Dr. Morley, I was sure knew it," if we shall find, that there *was* a "service" of Gauden's, to "the Church and Royal Family," which Morley did know of, and Clarendon knew of, and which it is further probable, also, that Clarendon had told Morley that he knew of.

No doubt I think it exceedingly probable that Morley and Gauden *had* conferred at the Restoration. Gauden was a man very likely to throw himself in the way of a person who stood so near to the Prime Minister as Morley did. In these interviews, Morley, it is probable enough, might say something of his persuasions of the purpose of the Crown and its Ministers, and so, of the Lord Chancellor in particular, to do their utmost to consider the claims of all those, who during the Troubles, or in the preparations for the Restoration, had served the cause of the Crown, and of the Church; and, on such an occasion, it is highly probable, that Morley would not neglect to pay its due tribute of acknowledgement to what Gauden himself was known to have done. Such services there were, as he himself has taken sufficient care to inform us, *important public services*, besides that private and secret one. His largest literary performance was a folio volume, entitled Ἱερὰ Δάκρυα: *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria*, a work of very considerable talent and learning, and written, no doubt, in expectation of, and to promote the Restoration. This work came out a very few months before the return of the King. Lord Clarendon,

before he set out for England, while he was yet at Brussells, speaks of it thus, in a letter to Lady Willoughby, dated March 20, 1660. "I pray, if the good Doctor, who undertook the conveyance of your book, hath not sent it away, desire him to get a book, which *I hear Dr. Gauden hath published*, concerning the Church of England, and send with it[9]." It might strengthen the links of our present chain of observation, if it should turn out, that the "good Doctor," here mentioned, was Dr. Morley. But, I apprehend, this was otherwise. He, I believe, was still abroad. Probably he was with the Lord Chancellor. Perhaps he was with him at the very time when the Ἱερὰ Δάκρυα might arrive. But, however this may have been, I think it extremely probable, that Clarendon and Morley had conversed together about *that* service of Gauden's, as a timely and important one: and, therefore, when I consider, that we have no ground of belief, either that Morley himself thought, or contributed to lead Clarendon to think, that Gauden might be the author of *Icón Basilikè*, except that comparatively scanty authority, which, in the whole of this matter, is utterly contradictory to all the other evidence which we can meet with, I confess, I am strongly inclined to conjecture, that it was nothing but courteous expressions of his own, and of the Chancellor's esteem of this and of Gauden's other acknowledged writings, that the Bishop chose to understand, or at least chose to

[9] Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. III. P. 704.

speak of, as expressions, intended by Morley to apply to their mutual knowledge of Gauden's *secret* services, in the matter of the *Icôn Basilikè*. Nevertheless, if the opinion must still be retained, that there might have been some conversation between Morley and Gauden, on the subject of *Icôn Basilikè*, and some acknowledgement from the former to the latter, on account of services performed in connexion with that book; then, as we know that Walker was of some assistance to Symmons, in carrying that work through the press, I would not deny, (though I know no evidence for it, independently of the Gaudens,) the possibility of something of this kind, having been the case, on the part of Gauden, (the conveying the manuscript into the hands of the Marquess of Hertford, or the like;) upon which, he, with his sanguine temper, might, perhaps, twelve years after, build much more, than in strictness, the quality and degree of the good offices entitled him to do.

But we have not yet done with Clarendon, or with Morley. It is a matter of considerable importance, that we should know, whether there be any accounts respecting their sentiments subsequently; or any details apart from what we have hitherto principally dwelt upon, the statements of the Gaudenian party. We may take the two together, and we shall find that there are some particulars on record, which must, on no account, be omitted.

Henry, son and successor of the Earl of Clarendon, obtains, in May, 1674, the royal permission, to go and visit his banished father, then in a declining state of health, in France. (He died, indeed, in the month of December of that year.) In his way to the coast, the son visits the aged Bishop, (Morley,) at Farnham, to learn if he have any commands to his exiled friend. "Among several things his Lordship had in charge from the Bishop to say to his father, he bade him tell him, *That the King had very ill people about him,*" (I request your Grace to note the date of this interview, and the perfect consistency of this account, with alleged conversations with Burnet, and the Earl of Anglesey, in 1673 and 1675,) "*who turned all things into ridicule: that they endeavoured to bring him to have a mean opinion of the King his father, and to persuade him, that his father was not the author of the book, which goes under his name.*"

Now, my Lord, it is obvious to ask, "How is it possible that Morley could send these messages to Clarendon, if he believed, at the time, Gauden to be the author, and, if he were conscious in his private mind, that Clarendon knew, that Gauden, and not King Charles, was the author of *Icón Basilikè*? and further, if he knew, as the Gaudenians say, that he was himself the person, who had imparted that knowledge to the Lord Chancellor?" For my part, I account it impossible. And further, I take all this to be evidence incontrovertible of what, from other grounds, we have already entertained strong

apprehensions, that Clarendon, in fact, when the difficulty of Gauden's claim came upon him, did not consult Morley; and if not Morley, then probably not Duppa.—But to proceed. "In the circumstances mentioned," again we ask, "How could Morley send such messages as these to Clarendon?" The thing is utterly impossible. And yet this account we have upon the incontestible authority of the second Earl of Clarendon himself. "This Letter of my Lord Clarendon," says Mr. Wagstaffe, "I have now by me; and I have made bold to transcribe these passages out of it, for the unquestionable satisfaction of the reader in this point[1]." But, next, let us enquire, "In what manner does Clarendon receive this message?"—"And when," continues Wagstaffe, reciting the words of the son, "his Lordship, after his arrival in France, May 30, 1674, had delivered his father these particulars among others; to that concerning the book, his father replied, *Good God, I thought the Marquess of Hertford had satisfied the King in that matter.*" Now, Toland, no doubt, professes to think, that this is no expression of Clarendon's judgment in favor of the claim of Charles, but quite the reverse. "For my part I think it very plain on the contrary, that he believed King Charles the First not to be the author of that book; and wondered that King Charles the Second should not understand so much from the Marquess of Hertford[2]." Need I say, that I believe

[1] Wagstaffe's *Vindication*. P. 47.
[2] *Amyntor*. P. 212.

no man living, whose judgment is worth a straw, will agree with Toland in this interpretation? Certainly, Henry, Earl of Clarendon, who may be thought the most competent judge of the import of what was spoken to himself, puts the first meaning upon the words, and is reasonably indignant at Toland's preposterous interpretation. In the great difficulty through which we are striving to make our way, it may, perhaps, be worth while to transcribe the whole of what he has said. It is a Letter addressed to Mr. Wagstaffe.

"*May 5*, 1699.

"SIR,

I WOULD not answer your Letter of the 29th of the last month till I had read *Amyntor*, the pamphlet you mention, which truly I had not done when I received it. And now I have read it, I cannot but stand amazed at the impudence of the author, for the construction he makes of what my father said upon what I told him from the Bishop of Winchester, (Dr. Morley,) speaking of the endeavours which were used to possess King Charles the Second with a mean opinion of his father, and that he was not the author of the book which goes under his name. The words were these: *Good God!* (said my father,) *I thought the Marquess of Hertford*[3] *had satisfied the King in that matter.* I confess I understood these

[3] If our evidences are to be believed, the Marquess may be thought well qualified to have done this; inasmuch as he is reported to have been in possession of a manuscript of the *Icon* confided to him by the King's (Charles the First) own hand. See above, P. 138.

words in a quite different sense from the author of *Amyntor:* namely, that my father thought the Marquess of Hertford had satisfied King Charles the Second, that his father was the author of that book which goes under his name: and the rather, because I never heard my father let fall the least word, as if he doubted the King's being the author of that book.

I cannot but observe that Mrs. Gauden, in her Narrative, printed in *Amyntor*, says that her husband meeting with Dr. Morley, he fell into discourse how sensible he was of the *great services which he had done his present Majesty, and the Royal Family, in composing and setting forth that excellent Piece called the King's Book.* If this were true, that Bishop Morley knew that Bishop Gauden had composed the King's Book, and that he had acquainted Sir Edward Hyde with it, as the Narrative says; I leave it to you, or any one, to judge whether it were possible that Bishop Morley could hold that discourse with me which I have mentioned. Every body then knew the intimacy and friendship I had with that good Bishop; and he very well knew how entirely I was trusted by my Father: So that it was impossible the Bishop could make that complaint to me of the endeavours used to persuade the King, that his Father was not the Author of the Book which goes under his name, if he had known or believed that Bishop Gauden had composed it. And I am confident my Father would have laughed at the Bishop of Winchester for sending such an errand by me, if he had believed Bishop Gauden to have been the author of

that Book. And I do verily believe my Father would have told me upon that occasion, if he had had the least intimation that Bishop Gauden had composed it.

" I wish what I have here told you may be satisfactory to you, or of any use to the honest cause you defend.

" I am, Sir,

" Your, &c.

" CLARENDON."[2]

Assuredly, all this is of very great importance. I grant, indeed, that one could have wished, that both the Father and the Son had been more explicit. The testimony, (perhaps the interval of years which had transpired between the conversations and the account of them, may be some explanation of the difficulty), I grant indeed, is not so full as might be desired: and, it is not easy to see why the subject was not prosecuted further by the Father, to a Son in whose discretion and fidelity we know, from his own statement, that he reposed the most implicit confidence.[3] In one particular also, it is certain, that the Son calculated erroneously. " Intimations," we know that the Earl *had* received of the most impressive kind, that " Bishop Gauden

[2] *Defence of the Vindication of King Charles the Martyr.* 4to. 1699. P. 37.

[3] " There is not the least knowledge of this correspondence to any but my son, who is as secret as he ought to be." See Preface to *State Letters, &c. of Henry Earl of Clarendon.* 4to. 1763. P. XIV.

had composed the *Icón.*" But, the silence here, is only of a piece with the other conduct, mysterious and unaccountable enough, of Clarendon. When he had withheld Gauden's letters from his son, and when, for any thing that I can see, he had withheld them from every body else (unless it might be the King), we are not to wonder particularly, that he forbore to prolong the conversation.

The impressions that we have supposed to have been made at the first, perhaps still continued to such a degree, that he kept to the end the same reserve and silence—towards his sons—to Dr. Morley—and to the world—contenting himself when so closely pressed, with those interjectional expressions respecting the Marquess of Hertford.

I do not know whether we can be justified in considering this anecdote as of much moment with respect to Lord Clarendon's matured and ultimate judgment in the question of the true author of *Icón Basilikè;* but with respect to the case of Morley, I think it decisive. As, however, his sentiments are hardly of inferior importance to those of Lord Clarendon himself, I am persuaded your Grace will pardon my adding a few further particulars respecting him.

This Bishop, though a man of very considerable learning and ability, has not left very much of a literary nature behind him. In a volume, published when he had nearly completed his eighty-fourth year, there is a passage, (I think only one), which

perhaps *may*, (which I believe *does*) refer to the *Icón Basilikè*; and refers to it as the work of the King. The words are,—"Nam si quis secus dixerit aut senserit, necesse est ut alterum ex his duobus senserit, etiam et affirmet; nempe, vel Ecclesiam tunc temporis Anglicanam, non fuisse orthodoxam, (quod nemo ex Reformatis, qui suam ipsius Ecclesiam damnare nolit, affirmare potest); vel sanctissimum et prudentissimum Principem (Carolum primum, τον μακαριτην intelligo) in alienis Sacris, et diversa ab Ecclesia Anglicana Fide (quam ipse, *non dictis modo et factis et Scriptis*, dum viveret, celebravit; sed sanguine et martyrio suo moriens obsignavit) Filium suum dilectissimum, et regnorum hæredem, de industria instituisse et educâsse [4]."

In the year 1649, Dr. George Bate, (physician successively to Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, and Charles II.) published his *Elenchus Motuum nuperorum in Anglia*. In some of the subsequent editions, which were numerous, an *Epilogus* is added at the end of part the first, in which he tells us, "Historiolæ hujus primum autographum, dum sub manu cresceret, non semel inspexerunt *Georgius Reverendissimus Episcopus Wintoniensis*, Nicolaus Oudartus, dignissimus Principe Auriacæ nuper ab Epistolis et Secretis; clarissimus Joannes Wederburnius eques auratus, et Ricardus Owenus; hic Theologiæ Professor, ille Medicinæ, olim Caroli Primi Regis, nunc

[4] Several Treatises, by George Lord Bishop of Winton. 4to. 1683. P. 5. Epist. ad virum clariss: D. Cornel: Triglandium de Regis Caroli Secundi, erga Reformat. Religionem affectu. dat. Bredæ. Junii 7, 1659.

Jacobi Ducis Eboracensis Medicus; clarissimus Doctor Georgius Ente, Londinensis Collegii Socius; et Fabianus Philips, Leguleius, qui rotulis, archivis et legum monumentis mecum operam navavit (ut præteream Dugardum qui typis impressit) viri exceptione majores." Now, in the first edition of this history, inspected, as is here stated, by Morley (and in all the subsequent editions), a paragraph occurs, which in the English translation (published 1685) is rendered as follows:

"Nevertheless, by the extraordinary Providence of Almighty God, to their eternal shame and confusion, and the everlasting praise of the boundless and royal virtue of the King, a Book of Meditations or Soliloquies saw the light, a posthumous work; of which, whosoever impartially considers the weight of matter, the quaintness of stile, the strength of reason, and the ardor of piety, must, in spight of envy, acknowledge that among writers he deserved the kingdom: and that those ill minds that wrested from him the Civil Government, must render him the dominion of letters." P. 160.

But, there is another anecdote, which, when added to the rest, leaves no doubt upon my mind, what were at least the *ultimate* sentiments of Morley; and, with this conviction respecting him, may perhaps be taken to give some reasons for hesitation, at least, in regard to the ultimate sentiments of Clarendon.

At the beginning of the year 1678, Sancroft, upon the death of Archbishop Sheldon, was promoted to the see of Canterbury. At that time, it was well

known, that the Duke of York had embraced the Roman Catholic religion. Such a step taken by the presumptive heir to the crown, occasioned, as might be expected, great present uneasiness throughout the kingdom, and painful forebodings for the future. It was impossible for the Bishops not to participate deeply in these apprehensions. Shortly after the advancement of Sancroft, probably at his suggestions, they sought, and they obtained the King's permission, to implore a conference with the Duke; for the purpose of endeavouring to prevail upon him to return to the Communion of the Church of England; and Sancroft and Morley were selected, the latter by the King himself, to undertake the task. The Prince received the two prelates, and they addressed him in a formal written discourse, which was read by the Archbishop. In that discourse we find the following passage.

"Your Royal Father, that blessed martyr of ever-glorious memory, who loved the Church of England, and knew how to value her, and lost his all in this world for her, even his life too, bequeathed you to her at the last! When he was ready to turn his back upon an impious and ungrateful world, and had nothing else now left him, but this excellent religion (which he thought not only worth his three kingdoms, but ten thousand worlds), he gave that Queen in legacy amongst you. For, thus he bespake the King your brother, and, in him, all that were his: words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in brass or marble. 'If you

never see my face again, I require and entreat you, as your Father and as your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check or disaffection from the true religion established in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world [5].'"

Turn to the *Icón*, Chap. 27. *To the Prince of Wales*, and there we find the above passage, word for word.

Now, my argument here is this.

Let Sancroft have been as ill-informed, or as deeply deluded as you please: *though* he was, in fact, one of the most enquiring and laborious men of his time; and, *though* the particular subject of the *Icón* had been one of more than ordinary interest to him, even from the moment of its first delivery from the press: but, there was the other Prelate, Morley. With him, by the hypothesis, the matter was quite otherwise. Now, this speech, which had been prepared for the very purpose upon which they were sent, it is impossible to suppose but that it had been imparted to the Bishop of Winchester, and considered by them in common, before they repaired to the Duke's lodgings. At that particular passage, therefore, which we have quoted, Morley must have interposed. If the secret which he had in his breast was such that he could not, even in confi-

[5] *State Letters and Diary of Henry Earl of Clarendon.* 4to. 1763. Vol. II. P. 270. Appendix. See also D'Oyly's *Life of Sancroft.* Vol. I. p. 166.

dence, disclose it to Sancroft, and the other Bishops, still he must have stopped the proceeding, with an appeal something like the following: "My Lords, I am persuaded you will put no force upon my feelings. I cannot fully explain myself; but this citation must not stand. The reasons are not to be revealed; but what I have said is indispensable. These words, if suffered to remain, will mar all." But the words were left undisturbed. Hence, Morley could not go into the Duke's presence, believing at the time that Gauden was the Author of *Icón Basilikè*.

Look at the case as it stands, according to the account of the Gaudens; and consider the design of the visit. The design was to bring back the Duke to the Protestant religion; and in attempting this, they appeal, as a cogent and moving argument, to the solemn charge and injunction of his dying Father. But Morley knows the words to be a forgery; and is, probably, further apprised, that the Prince is aware of his knowing them to be so. What folly and wickedness combined! Would not the Prince turn round upon them: "My Lords, plead not with me against the Church of Rome; its frauds and forgeries. *Where,* in the darkest times of delusion and ignorance, can you find any thing from Pope or Monk, surpassing or equalling that accumulated violation of truth with which you now meet me to my face? Insult me not with reminding me of my unhappy father's shame. Why constrain me to ask, 'Are these the qualifications for Confessors and

Martyrs in your Church?' Seek not to prevail with me, Is there not a lie in your mouths?" Such we know was his language to Bishop Burnet on a like occasion a few years before.

But, did any thing of this kind take place now, on the part of the Duke?—By no means.—From the munificence of his present Majesty, when Prince Regent, we possess an account by the Duke himself of this same interview. This, though only a very concise statement, evidently alludes to that portion of the Archbishop's argument, which I have cited. "The Archbishop began a well ordered discourse, representing the great trouble it was to him in particular, to his brethren, and all the nation, that his Highness should withdraw himself from the Communion of the Church of England, in which he was born and bred; and for which his Father, of blessed memory, had suffered so glorious a martyrdom; and, enlarging in commendation of its doctrine, said[6]," &c.

Hence, I conclude, that we possess in this anecdote, incidentally, the judgment of Sancroft; the ultimate, and that, no doubt, the *unvaried*, judgment of Morley; and the judgment, probably, of the other bishops (if any), to whose consideration and censure the speech might have been submitted, before it was to be delivered. And I am not clear that we may not further say, that we also possess the final judgment of the Duke of York.

[6] Life of James II., Collected out of Memoirs written of his own hand, published from the Stuart MSS. in Carlton House, by Rev. J. S. Clarke. 4to. 1816. Vol. I. p. 538.

Lastly. From this story, as well as from that other which we had before from Henry Earl of Clarendon, I am once more strongly confirmed in my persuasion, that the Lord Chancellor Clarendon had never consulted Morley on the subject of Gauden's *Arcanum*; and that there had been no such conference between Gauden and Morley relative to his "secret service," as the former pretends.

With respect to Sancroft's predecessor, Archbishop Sheldon, who is expressly mentioned by Mrs. Gauden, as "not ignorant that her husband was the only author of the *Icón*," I have merely to say, that, so far as I know, there is no ground whatever for any intimation of this nature, from any other authority. At the same time, it must be added, in justice, that I am not able to produce any direct testimony of Sheldon, believing or asserting, that the Book was the King's. In truth, the literary remains of Archbishop Sheldon are exceedingly scanty.

With respect to *his* immediate predecessor, Juxon, whose long, intimate, and sacred intercourse with the King, gives to his case a weight and importance exceeded by none, the present may be as suitable an opportunity for saying a word or two upon him, as is likely to occur.

The first particular would be the testimony of Sir John Brattle, already produced.

But further, very shortly after the murder of the King, a sermon came out, entitled, *The Subject's Sorrow, or Lamentations upon the Death of Britain's Josiah*, which

has been attributed to Juxon[7]. By Bishop Kennett it is spoken of as "commonly imputed to Dr. Gauden[8]: and, if truly so imputed, this would add another wonder to the many prodigies of the Gaudenian side of our History. But I am bound to state, that it contains a passage, from which I am induced to think, that the Sermon was not Gauden's. Speaking of the King, the Preacher says, and "from this Princely munificence do I, with all devotion, acknowledge to have received a particular encouragement in my profession." (P. 22-3.) Of Juxon this was true; but I do not know that it could be truly said by Gauden. Juxon then, if he was the writer, thus speaks of *Icôn Basilikè*.

"But the lively features and fair lineaments of his graces and virtues are best and most lively drawn out *by his own pencil*. His works praise him in the Gate. His writings present unto us the lively Portraiture of his divine, large, and grasping soul. These (what they are wanting in volume, recompensing an hundred fold in worth) are the repertory of all his actions, and the surest index of his virtues. *That Book* is the quintessence of knowing zeal, the store-house of the ripe and choice fruits of Christian piety; there are the Principles of Religion perfectly digested into holy practice; there is the true Princely Image of King Charles. That Golden Manual being a stately building of Meditations, Consultations, Essays, Debates, and Devotions, raised upon emer-

[7] See Juxon's Life in the *Biographical Dictionary*.

[8] *Register*. P. 775-6.

gent occasions, with such judicious artifice of Grace, adorned with so rich furniture of piety, enlarged with so many fair Rooms, and convenient receipts of Grace, that it shews his Body was the Temple of the Holy Ghost; that there was no corner nor vacuity in his great and glorious soul. I doubt not to affirm, that in what we have of this holy King's Daughter, we are abundantly repaired in the loss of Solomon's Physicks. For here is a shop full of heavenly Medicines for all the maladies of the Soul: by so much is their sin the greater whose malice hath deprived us of those other later pieces of his Majesty. What we already have, is the greatest monument of Piety of any King's, (after their's, whose writings become authentic from God, as being the Penman of his own Divine Dictates), since the Creation: and shall have continual and unwearied travels made unto it in all Languages and Kingdoms, by all Men and Women, who know love and honour, piety, prudence, and all divine and moral Graces and Virtues; every of which hath its several atchievement and particular trophy erected in this One Work, which shall be as long as time [9]."

I confess, in this elaborate panegyric, there is much more of the luxuriance of Gauden's style and manner, than I should have expected to find in any work of the grave and upright Juxon.

But, the ownership and pertinence of the next

[9] P. 23-4.

quotation is incontestible. For this I am indebted to Mr. Nichols.

Prefixed to a copy of Wagstaffe's *Vindication* and *Defence*, formerly belonging successively to Dr. Rawlinson and Mr. Gough, is the following autograph of the Earl of Winchelsea.

"Winchelsea, Aug. 12, 1722. I do affirm that in the year 1688, Mrs. Mompesson, wife to Thomas Mompesson, Esq. of Brouham, in Somersetshire, (a worthy and a very good woman), told me and my wife, that Archbishop Juxon assured her, that to his certain knowledge the Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ was all composed and written by King Charles the First. Although in the following Book the King's Book is thoroughly vindicated, and proved to be of his Majesty's composing, I was willing to add this circumstance, from Mrs. Mompesson, with whom and her husband, my wife and I at that time sojourned [1]."

The difficulty in the case of Bishop Duppa, I am compelled to leave as I find it. In extenuation of that, I am able to allege nothing but what is immediately obvious. If Clarendon did not resort to Morley, upon the whole, it is much less to be wondered at, though still surprising enough, that he should not do so to Duppa.

I have now done with the difficulty respecting the silence and the rest of the conduct of Lord Clarendon. It has detained me very long; nor have I any

[1] *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century.* Vol. I. P. 529.

excuse, if the length of the discussion may not be taken as an evidence that I would not elude so important a difficulty.

In the latter part of this discussion, I have slipped almost insensibly into a statement of the judgment or the evidence of some of the Bishops, intimate friends and associates of Lord Clarendon; and have found these *openly* and *explicitly* avowing the contrary to what we are supposing him to have holden in this matter *covertly*. I have mentioned also the names of other Divines, Statesmen, and personal servants of the King, some, or most of them, intimate friends, associates, and correspondents of his Lordship: and yet, all of them were in exactly the same predicament and relation towards him, on the question before us, as has been just specified. I might easily prolong the list a great deal further. Perhaps from the sentiments of Sir Philip Warwick, we might reason[2] with considerable probability to those of his Master, the intimate private, and the leading political friend and associate of Clarendon, the excellent Lord Treasurer Southampton; one, who is said by the Gaudens to have had a hand in carrying the manuscript down to the King at the Isle of Wight. Now, Clarendon's silence, no doubt, is a difficulty. But, may I not at length ask, on the other hand, is there no difficulty in the express judgment, or the express testimony of all these men? Why is all the stress to be laid upon

[2] *Clarendon's Life. Continuation.* P. 312.

Lord Clarendon? Why not weigh difficulties on the side of the King, as well as those that are *against* him? Were they then all parties to the forgery; or, were they dupes? If Gauden's claim be true, all these eminent persons must have been one or the other. Not to dwell in *generalities*, let us take, by way of specimen, the single instance of Dr. Earle. This delightful person was honoured with the intimate friendship and highest esteem of Lord Clarendon, and, I may add, of Dr. Morley likewise. Clarendon has described him as "one of the few excellent men, who never had, nor ever could have, an enemy, but such a one, who was an enemy to all learning and virtue:" and in another place, he speaks with great tenderness of "the never enough lamented death of Dr. Earle." This Divine was appointed by Charles I. Tutor and Chaplain to the Prince of Wales; of whose household he was a part, *until* and *after* the Restoration: except that at one time he was sent (while they were in exile), by Charles II. to reside upon a confidential mission, in the family of the Duke of York. And thus he stood in a near relation to the three successive Kings. This Divine, very shortly after its publication, translated the *Icôn Basilikè* into Latin, and printed it; both done at the command of Charles II. This Divine, at the Restoration, declared to Viscount Hereford, that he was as certain that Charles I. *wrote* the *Icôn Basilikè*, as that he himself had *translated* it. This Divine, again, succeeded Dr. Gauden as Bishop of Exeter, in 1662. I have mentioned what appears

on Gauden's monument at Worcester. Three years afterwards Dr. Earle died at Oxford, of which University Clarendon at that time was Chancellor; and upon Earle's monument may still be read, in Merton College Chapel the following words:

> " Ille qui Hookeri ingentis Politiam Ecclesiasticam,
> Ille qui Caroli Martyris Εικονα Βασιλικην,
> (Volumen quo post Apocalypsin divinius nullum,)
> Legavit Orbi sic *Latine* redditas,
> Ut uterque unius Fidei defensor,
> *Patriam* adhuc retineat Majestatem."

Now, certainly, I think every thing that ought to be thought of the integrity of Lord Clarendon: but I am compelled to do the same of the blameless integrity of Dr. Earle. Who then shall affirm, that the positive testimony of this one single individual is not of as much value, on one side, as the mere silence, and the rest of the conduct of Clarendon on the other? I know it *can* be said, (because things of that kind often *are* said,) that he, and Juxon, and Sanderson, and Sir Philip Warwick, and a hundred more, all the divines, statesmen, and servants, were time-servers and courtiers, and therefore might co-operate in or connive at the forgery *. This may be

* In connexion with the name of Dr. Earle, I may cite here another extract, which at the same time includes the judgments of another individual, himself of first-rate authority, in a question like the present, the excellent Evelyn. The date of the testimony is also important; being immediately after the death of Gauden.

" Nov. 30, 1662. St. Andrew's day. Invited by the Dean of Westminster to his Consecration Dinner and Ceremony, on his being made Bishop of Worcester. Here were the Judges, Nobility, Clergy, and Gentlemen innumerable; this Bishop being universally beloved in his sweet and gentle disposition. He was author of those characters which go under the name of Blount. *He translated his late Majesty's Icon* into

said; but let him believe it who will, I am certain that, in the present case, it *could not* be. Were they then duped? duped, that is, I suppose we must say—by the King? That is, all his bishops, servants, statesmen, with the single exception of Lord Clarendon; and even Lord Clarendon too, till his eyes were opened by Dr. Gauden, duped, not at *one* time, nor in a *single* circumstance, but for years, and through a long series of concatenated and consistent events and circumstances? Is this probable? Is it not at least *as* probable, that Clarendon himself singly, might be duped by the single efforts of Dr. Gauden?

In what, I ask, did Clarendon on one side, and all his countless friends, and enemies too, on the other, differ in grounds for our confidence in them, respectively, in this contested question? Suppose we grant that they did not differ in *integrity:* nor in *discernment* and *sagacity*. Let him *alone* be equal in these points, to them collectively. In means for *the discovery of the truth*, though both sides are to be rated highly; yet if we are called upon to assign a difference, I cannot but declare, that, in my opinion, the preponderance in them *collectively*, is exceedingly great over him *singly*. He *singly*, however, had one source of information,

Latin, was Clerk of his Closet, Chaplain, Dean of Westminster, and yet a most humble, meek, but chearful man, an excellent Scholar, and rare Preacher. I had the honor to be loved by him. He married me at Paris, during his Majesty's and the Church's exile. When I took leave of him he brought me to the Cloisters in his episcopal habits. I then went to Evening Prayers at White-Hall, where I passed that evening." Evelyn's *Memoirs*, Vol. I.

which they *collectively* did not enjoy. He had the letters of Gauden: of these they knew nothing. Had he imparted *his* knowledge, they would have communicated *theirs:* but, the first not having been done, is it not probable that these very letters were his injury and loss, and not his gain? Is it not possible, that their principal effect was, to stop his ears, and close his eyes, against the truth, and the investigation of it? What was the character of Dr. Gauden? Did Clarendon understand him thoroughly? May it not be quite as possible, that he alone was the dupe of Gauden: as that all the rest of the world were the dupes of the King:—the King, who, we are told, would not suffer the book to come abroad, till after he should be dead; and Gauden, who would never have pleaded to be the author of it at all, if it had not been to get the bishoprick of Winchester, when he was living?

In respect to any support to be derived to the cause of the Gaudens, from the authority of the King's Sons, I confess I cannot rate that very highly. First: It is by no means certain to what degree they declared their conviction of the validity of the pretensions of Gauden. But, had this been otherwise, still, with respect to Charles the Second, Alas! it is to be feared, that the base and vicious Favourites into whose hands he had thrown himself, saw that the topic of detracting from the Father, was music but too grateful to the ears of the Son. Not well at ease under the galling yoke of his own vices,

he (too common a case) half hated the virtues from which he had degenerated. We know that there is at least *one* of his sayings upon record, in which he defended himself to some of his subjects, against the imputation of one sin, by alleging his *comparative* innocence in that respect with *their Martyr*. Besides, are we not told, in the Memoirs of James II., that, so early as the year 1669[3], long before the communications to Lord Anglesey and Bishop Burnet, *both* the Brothers had espoused the Roman Catholic Religion; and that the King was in treaty with France for the establishment of Popery in this kingdom? If this be true, is it to be wondered, that he should gladly listen to any thing which might be suggested, either from his own mind, or by others, to lighten his burden of self-reproaches, in departing from the last solemn injunctions of his Father?

For the same reasons, and for others, I cannot rate what was said by the Duke of York to Bishop Burnet, at much. At least, we are not to forget, on the other side, the interview with Sancroft and Morley, which has been mentioned: and the other circumstance, that he himself, in a most solemn and formal public document, his "*Letters to the Lords and others of the Privy Council, to be communicated to the rest of the Nobility, the Lord Mayor of London,*" &c. and dated January 14, 1688-9, has cited the *Icôn Basilikè*, as the work of his father. "Together," says he, "with a serious reflection on a say-

[3] Vol. I. p. 441-2.

ing of our royal father, of blessed memory, when he was in like circumstances, *That there is little distance between the prisons, and the graves of Princes;* which afterwards proved too true in his case[4]." These words are at the beginning of the last chapter of that book. I conceive it is not possible, that a Prince in circumstances such as James then was, should have dared to make this use of a passage, which he was persuaded was not written by his father.

I shall say nothing of the splendid collection of the "Works of King Charles," and of the separate editions of the *Icón Basilikè*, printed with the royal letters patent of both the Kings *declaring*, or with other vouchers recognizing the book, as the work of their father. This part of the subject has been fully discussed, and perhaps quite as much stress laid upon it as it deserves, by Mr. Wagstaffe and others.

After all this investigation, the time is now come, that we return again to the questions which were asked before. "*What shall we think? Are we prepared to sum up, and pronounce judgment? For which party shall we decide?*"

Plainly here are many irreconcileable inconsistencies between the two sides. Both accounts cannot be true.

First, therefore, with regard to Dr. Gauden.

His claim, undoubtedly, is very explicit and pe-

[4] *Wagstaffe's Vindication.* P. 22.

remptory. Certainly, it might command our assent, if we be prepared to yield to confident and pertina cious asseveration.

Further, it is supported by the direct testimonies of Mrs. Gauden, and Dr. Walker.—But we saw how they have supported it. They appear to add little or nothing, which might not have been infused, and which there is not much reason to believe *was* infused, by Dr. Gauden: so that both their testimonies, at the best, are little more than Dr. Gauden over again. If, however, we take them in another sense; if we be required to admit that which they have of their own, we shall find immediately, that we have got an accession of materials, which from inconsistencies and contradictions, tends to make the whole story very deeply suspected.

I remarked, how slight the assistance is, (rather, how there is no assistance at all,) received by Dr. Gauden from any additional testimonies, or from any circumstantial evidence. I have granted, that through the necessity of privacy, and from the absence of public discussion, not *much*, perhaps, was to be looked for; but *something*, I think, was. It is a strange deficiency, indeed, that, look what way we will, not a particle of circumstantial evidence arises; nor, a single subsidiary direct testimony, upon which we might rely. Nor is that all. It is not merely, that we find no gain, (very much of which we find, whatever way we turn, on the side of the King,) but on this side, almost every new name that is mentioned, appears

to bring with it some serious damage and loss. In one place, we receive tidings of a servant of the Dean of Bocking; but the account that he gives is a most hapless one indeed: for, he is made to tell us, *how* his Master *came* by that from which, according to Mrs. Gauden, he "hoped to make his fortune;" and we find, it was, by effecting a transcript of another man's labours. As if there were some lurking consciousness, that the cause needed further support, *reference* we *do* find is made to *other* authorities. Gauden himself tells us of Lord Hertford; but that comes to little or nothing beyond the bare word of Gauden. Nay, we hear of it, on the other side, and in quite a different meaning. First, as from the mouth of Lord Clarendon himself; and that the Marquess was not only, for his own part, free from doubt, but was expected also to have satisfied the King. And secondly, that Lord Hertford, for safe custody, had entrusted the manuscript, written in the King's own hand, to one of his captains. Gauden again speaks, and with the utmost precision and confidence, of Dr. Morley: but that likewise appears to end in mere mistake or misrepresentation. Mrs. Gauden, for her share, has mentioned Lord Capel, and Archbishop Sheldon. But, as for the latter, we have no authority save her single word, against much probability on the other side: and as for Lord Capel, he is introduced in such a way, that we are compelled to think that the story is wholly false! Dr. Walker, lastly, refers to a Mr. Gifford, once like himself, a curate to Dr.

Gauden. But Mr. Gifford stands him in no stead. On the contrary, this gentleman accounts the book one of the divinest ever written; and, without a particle of hesitation, on a very solemn occasion, he quotes it as the work of the King. In short, Gauden stands alone; or is supported by such evidences as add very little to, and detract very much from our belief in him. In short, there appears to be a fatality on his side. We can touch nothing, from which doubt and suspicion does not immediately start up.

Let us now turn to the other side; and there we shall find matters every way most widely different.

The King's claim (in itself, why *more* questionable, or why *so* questionable as that of Gauden?) is supported and confirmed by a long and numerous train of direct, and of circumstantial evidence brought together from a great variety of quarters, and leading us by regular consistent steps, almost from the very day of the first conception of the work, through all the stages of its composition, revisals, preparation for the press, delivering to the printer, publication. In short, every kind of evidence appears in abundance, that the most scrupulous mind can require.

Further. The *Icón* came forth at a very critical season: it was read universally: it produced wonderful effects: it was encountered by the arm of power: great endeavours were made at the time to convict it of forgery. But nothing could avail. Threats and promises were alike impotent and vain:

and the pretence of fraud was speedily abandoned by its very contrivers and propagators. The book irresistibly made its way to that place in the hearts of all, to which it aspired; and was received, as that which "has power, as the word and work of a king."

At length, after a space of twelve years, a claimant, not a *public*, but a *secret* one, (and himself suggesting the fitness of still *keeping the secret*,) is found to have come forward; and we discover, long after, that his claim, in one or two quarters, appears to have attracted some considerable degree of regard. Whether, however, the effect produced extended further than to an indisposition to moot the controversy, is in no respect certain. And even after the claim, no public discussion arises; and nothing transpires to disturb the former convictions of mankind. No public discussion is excited, till another period, a space of thirty years, is gone by. Then, indeed, the controversy breaks forth; and the whole affair is investigated, (with the exception of the private Letters of Gauden, subsequently brought to light;) and now, likewise, as before, a complete victory is gained on the side of the King. Toland and the rest of the adversaries were utterly discomfited, and quitted the field in silence!

And, why should it not be so now? Take any one portion of our evidences, and the force of it is irresistible. What account can be given of the long train of testimonies for the existence of the Naseby

copy, but that the fact is true; and that Gauden's claim is utterly false! What, again, shall be said, of the other long series, unimpeached in any part of it, and equally inconsistent with the claim of Gauden—reaching from the battle of Naseby to the treaty of Newport? In short, both accounts, the *two* claims, cannot be true: and the testimonies for the King are utterly inexplicable upon any other supposition than that he was the author; and that Gauden's claim is false and fictitious?

Then, if it be alleged, that difficulty arises on the side of the *indirect* evidence; that Gauden's pretensions are powerfully supported by the *silence* of Lord Clarendon; the reply is, that, perhaps, this difficulty is considerably over-rated: or if it be not, that it is in great degree, or altogether *compensated*, or more than compensated, by another difficulty of a similar nature, at least *as* hard to be explained, on the side of the King; the alternative of all the great, and all the wise, and all the good, (with the single exception of Lord Clarendon,) being dupes or accomplices, in this wonderful fraud.

In short, we appear to be inclining very forcibly, even irresistibly, to this side of the question, when we hear the adversary of the King interpose, and assert —"*But his Majesty was not able to write that book.*"

The advocate on the other side asks, "*Where is the proof* of this assertion?" And demands, likewise, "Was then Gauden able to write it?"

Upon these two questions issue is joined.

Whether the learned disputants will prove, that nobody wrote the book, time must shew.

But, this argument will better be reserved to a separate Letter.

I have the honor to be,

&c. &c. &c.

LETTER II.

My Lord,

We now proceed to that division of our enquiry which respects the *internal* evidence.

In collecting the *external* arguments, I gave the precedence, in point of order, to the evidence on the side of Gauden; but now I take the liberty to reverse that course of proceeding. Many who have known little or nothing of the positive claim of the Bishop, have yet been disinclined to receive the work as the King's, from considerations connected with this latter species of reasoning, the *internal* evidence. Bradshaw, the suitable President of the unhappy band of judges, when he had the bookseller Royston before him, and vainly endeavoured by promises and threats, to induce him to deny that the King was the author, demanded, in the very style of the Sanhedrim of old, "*How so bad a man could write so good a book?*" The same, we saw, was the line of argument, taken by the Divines at the table of the Earl of Manchester; and by the regicide Ludlow; and by the author of the copy of verses prefixed to the Εἰκὼν αληθινή.

" Priest-ridden fools we are : a man might see
'Twas none of the late King's, by the piety.
By the devotion, wit, stile, it appears,
The Bishop's foot was in't, o'er head and ears."

Again. Milton would persuade us, that the book was not the King's, from a doughty reason, indeed; because, forsooth, it contains the word "*demagogue:*" and a predecessor of your Grace thinks it more in character with the functions of a *Priest*, than of a *King;* and adds, " as I believe, in truth, it was the work of one of *us*[1]." In like manner, I may venture to say, more *generally*, that in our own times, *many* who hear, or think highly of the book, are slow, on that account, to ascribe it to the King. Their preconceived opinions of Charles lead them to a very ready acquiescence in what they know or hear of the pretensions of Gauden; because they have a notion, that nothing very great, or very good could come from the King.

Therefore, *Whether* the King *could*, or *could not* write this book: and if he may be thought *not unable*, *Whether* he was likely to *desire*, and to *endeavour to write such a book*—are the parts of the argument now proposed to our consideration.

Thinking highly of the book, and highly of the King, I own, my Lord, I am decidedly of opinion that he *could* write it: and, now at length, I will speak out: I will not conceal my sentiments any longer: I think that the King *could* write; and that

[1] *Letters of Archbishop Herring to William Duncomb, Esq.* 1777. 12mo. P. 57.

he *would wish* to write; and, finally, I think that he *did* write the Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. Persons, contemporary with the publication of the King's book, or with the early stages of this controversy, felt what I am now anxious to convey, when they said, as one expresses himself, "And as I think no man could have writ such a book but King Charles, so I am confident *he* could never have writ such a piece, had he not been in trouble. 'Tis a sad heart that we are beholden to, for most of David's Psalms, and Charles's Meditations[2]:" Or, as another, "For my part, I am apt to believe no person was able to frame that book, but a suffering King; and no suffering King, but King Charles the Martyr[3]."

But it is not merely as the representation of a *suffering* King:—on whatever side it is viewed, certainly this is a book of a very extraordinary kind. Consider what it claims to be: and let us ask, Whether it does not, in every respect, to a most beautiful and surprising degree, correspond to, and justify the claim?

In regard to purity of stile, and to the invariable propriety and the beauty of the sentiments, let any one who is competent to judge, read for himself, and decide. I never open it without feeling an impression, that the writer had prayed for the Divine Spirit, and that the Friend of the afflicted, Who has promised to give His Holy Spirit to them

[2] Εἰκων ἡ πιστη, &c. 4to. 1649. P. 62.
[3] Mr. Cave Beck. See above.

that ask Him, had hearkened to the prayer. I know no book of private devotion, of any age, written for the suppliant's own necessities, which surpasses; none, indeed, which comes near to it. We have several remains of the like nature from contemporary hands, Andrews's, Laud's, Duppa's, and many others; but, in depth of contemplation; in copiousness and exactness of *personal* application; and of application to the circumstances of the *times;* valuable as they are, this far exceeds them all.

To form any adequate estimate of its worth, and of its true character in these respects, we must have read and considered the Book; and must have studied the character and history of Charles, and the records and history of the age. When we have done this, we shall see that the writer of *Icón Basilikè* has caught the very soul and spirit of the whole. We shall see that he himself *was* and *did*, what he describes. I will venture to say, there is not a chapter not a paragraph, hardly a sentence, that cannot receive the most appropriate and substantial confirmation from contemporary remains. No where, not even in the great Historian himself, can the true character of the King, in its inmost recesses, and its nicest traits, be more correctly and more convincingly understood: nor can the policy, whether of Charles or of his adversaries be any where more profitably studied and more justly appreciated. The Book is, in truth, a most valuable *historical* document: and so far from being at variance from what

is most authentic elsewhere, (which could hardly have failed, at many times to be the case, were it not *indeed* what it *professes* to be), it exhibits an entire accordance and harmony, with every other statement of true history. Thus, it takes its due place; supplies our deficiencies; furnishes the most pertinent illustrations: and (I speak from experience) the more we know of the times, the more are we convinced, that the Book is such as it must have been, if it were the King's. In short, I am compelled to say, if this Book be a forgery, I hardly know what Book can, upon internal evidence, be considered genuine.

Now, was the King a man qualified to understand, to feel and to describe, his own situation and circumstances, and those of the times? Does his character correspond to that of his Book? Was he *able* to write such a work, as the *Icón Basilikè* appears to us to be?

In the first place then, I would remark, that when the Book issued from the press, it excited no surprise in the most competent judges, and the best informed persons, that such a work should come forth with the name of the King. Who, for instance, were judges more to be relied on in a matter of this kind than Sir Edward Hyde, and the Secretary of State, Sir Edward Nicholas? These persons were full of that admiration which the Book deserves. But,

it was no matter of their surprise; none at least that was accompanied by the slightest distrust and incredulity. Perusing the work, they felt no emotions but those of increased veneration for their late Master; and of devout thankfulness to the God of his consolation. When the volume, travelling to him as rapidly as the time could allow, reached Sir Edward Nicholas, at his present place of exile, how do we find him speaking, in a letter to the illustrious Marquess of Ormond, then in Ireland? "I have delivered to your noble lady, for your Excellency, his late Majesty's *Portraiture*, being the most exquisite pious and princely piece that I ever read[4]." Hyde also, in similar circumstances, and about the same time, to Lord Hatton, (then, if I mistake not, at Paris with the Queen Mother, as Sir Edward was at the Hague with King Charles II.) "I will by the next messenger, (for I think it not fit for the post), send you one of the King's Books[5];" and, in another letter, written on the same day, to his friend Sir John Berkeley, he refers, I doubt not, especially to chapter 7th. *(On the Queen's Departure out of England)*, but perhaps, to *other* parts also of the *Icón Basilikè*, when he thus emphatically expresses himself:—

"I must tell you, I have *another obligation*," (i. e. to the Queen.

[4] Caen, March 20-30, 1648-9, Carte's *Ormond Letters*. Vol. I. p. 226. 8vo. We before saw another letter of Sir Edward, of the date, Paris, Nov. 6. 1649, recommending the putting forth a French translation of I. B. which his Majesty should declare to be authentic.

[5] April 12, 1649. *Clarendon Papers*. Vol. II. p. 480. Several of the early editions of the *Icón* were printed at the Hague.

The misunderstandings which so often subsisted between her and Clarendon are well known:) "which, if all others could, can never be dissolved; and I hope it will have an interest upon the hearts of all honest Englishmen; that is, the reverence I pay to the precious memory of my dear Master. And I verily believe, the *immortal Monument* he hath left of his transcendant affection to, and value of her Majesty, hath made that impression on all men, that whoever pretends to honour Him, can never fail in duty to her: and I am persuaded the Queen will live to reap a plentiful harvest from that seed[6]."

Now, few or none, it is certain, knew the King better than these individuals, and the persons to whom their letters are addressed. And writing, probably, before any rumours had reached them of the pretence of forgery, (started not long after by Milton and others), they express themselves naturally, and without the slightest tendency to doubt or controversy. *They*, therefore, did not think, as many now do. They saw no such disparity between this Book and the talents of the King, as to induce them to entertain the slightest surmise of ascribing it to another.

And hence, therefore, I might also further observe, by the way, that these first, native, impressions of which we speak, are of no mean importance, for another purpose, beyond the mere question of the *abilities* of the King. Is it possible, that we can read these private epistolary communications, and not feel convinced, that the writers are speaking their genuine sentiments? Therefore, Hyde, and Nicho-

[6] Ibid. P. 487.

las, Ormond, and Hatton, and Berkeley—and we may extend the list, almost as much further as we please—all these we may well believe, were no parties to any fraud. If forgery there was, these men were not accomplices: it is plain that they were mere, blind, witless, senseless dupes. Therefore, if I know, that these persons, and such as these, had no doubts at the very time of publication; and subsequently, when all the world rang with the praises, and with discussions respecting this Book; then that fact alone will make me extremely suspicious of any opposite claim; and will induce me to require very strong evidence indeed, before I can be led to surrender that judgment, which as I have found, was for a space of ten or twelve years, the only judgment of all those who were the most competent to discern the truth. But, to return.

In fact, all these persons, the best and most competent judges, having possessed every opportunity for observing and knowing him well, thought very highly of the King. I do not now reason from the formal characters, given by Clarendon and others, his Friends and Ministers, in works designed for the public eye; and written perhaps expressly in vindication of the Sovereign, and of the part which they had taken in his service. But, from their private letters addressed to one another, and many of them after the death of the King, and intermixed with free reflexions on his faults and misconduct, we receive abundant proof that they entertained very ele-

vated sentiments of his abilities and endowments, both *moral* and *intellectual*.

Let us take, for instance, *this* passage from a letter of the Marquess of Ormond to Sir Edward Nicholas :—

"I shall look no further back into the causes of the ruin of our late blessed Master's affairs, than to acknowledge to you, that I believe he might have been much better advised than he was, if he had suffered *no advice* at all to have prevailed against *his own reason*, but followed the dictates of that with steadiness[7]."

And again: *this* from Sir Edward Hyde, written when the King was under restraint at Holdenby, to Dr. Earle, (so often mentioned).

"I know not what you mean by the King's *unnecessarily provoking* them. Since they think an absolute entire submission being not made to them, to be the highest *provocation*, it is no matter what he gives them to boot. And it may be, those sharp repartees, which appear too sharp, may make a greater impression in those who have not looked upon his wit and natural understanding with that reverence they ought to have done; than any fixed conclusion of his will, which may unjustly be suspected to proceed from the counsel of others. As I very well remember, his quick replies to my Lords Pembroke and Holland at Newmarket, to what they said to him, struck the Party deeper, and they were more troubled to find it published, (though it was done by the folly of their own people), than with his Answer to their Declaration, which they had prepared the People to look upon as none of his own. I am so well pleased with the King's carriage, and so confident that God will bless him for it, and protect him in it, that I fear nothing more, than some stratagem to get out of those hands, who being weary of him, will quickly give him opportunity to escape: and am the less troubled at his restraint from his own Servants and Chaplains, that I think there are very few Counsellors, who would be equally careful of his honour, and as few

[7] Carte's *Ormond Letters*. Vol. I. p. 434. 8vo.

Chaplains, of his conscience; both being easier to be corrupted, and bribed in either, than himself[9]."

Now, my Lord, if this is to be the nature of our estimate of the mind and the moral conduct of the King, what incompatibility is there that such a man, should at this same time, be occupying a part of his solitude, in writing the 23d chapter of *Icón Basilikè, On his Captivity at Holdenby;* or the next, (as Mr. Dillingham we saw conjectured, in consequence of what was read there in manuscript, by his Father), *Upon their denying his Majesty the attendance of his Chaplains;* or, the 25th, *Penitential Meditations and Vows in the King's Solitude at Holdenby?* Why may we not prosecute the argument of Sir Edward Hyde, only a little further; and ask, "What *Counsellor*, or what *Chaplain*, (none of whom, we find, were now permitted to be with him), could have been able to discharge this duty for their Master—for *such* a Master—*so well* as himself?—And above all people in the world, who was Dr. Gauden, that he should be able to do it, as we find it is done?"

About five months after the preceding, Sir Edward writes thus to Dr. Sheldon, now permitted, with Dr. Hammond, to be in attendance upon his Majesty.

"You have given me my heart's desire, in assuring me of his (the King's) gracious favor and acceptance . . . . Yours of the 10th gave me great comfort, when other men began to droop. But truly I did then, and do still believe, that the same patience, constancy and virtue which hath so miraculously produced this light out of that dismal darkness which six months since covered us all, will in the end, by the same blessing upon it, produce a full . . ." (a word

[9] March 16, 1647. *Clarendon Papers.* Vol. II. P. 348.

is wanting, perhaps we may read "repentance") over the whole kingdom[9]."

But, it was not merely the Friends of the King, who had learned to hold these sentiments; his enemies, too, were at length compelled to render a tardy homage to their grossly abused and injured Sovereign. No King was ever reviled more than he was. Incapacity, folly, obstinacy, irreligion, and insincerity, were echoed through every part of the kingdom; and were the language with which, not seldom, (especially from the unhappy Scottish Commissioners and Clergy), his own ears were feasted. But, "the King is wonderfully *improved*," said the Earl of Salisbury to Sir Philip Warwick, at the Newport treaty, two or three months before his murder. "To which," continues Warwick, "I as suddenly replied, *No, my Lord, he was always so; but your Lordship too late discerned it*[1]."

Whitelock, certainly no partial friend of the King, describing the passages of another treaty, holden more than five years before, in which himself bore an active part on the side of the Parliament, says,

"The instructions of the Parliament Commissioners were very strict, and tied them up to treat with none but the King himself; whom they often attended at his lodgings in Christ-Church. They had access at all times when they desired it: and were allowed by his Majesty a very free debate with him. He had commonly waiting on him, when he treated with them, Prince Rupert, the Lord Keeper Littleton, the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Chief Justice Banks, and several other Lords of his Council; who never debated

[9] August 29, 1647. *Clarendon Papers.* Vol. II. P. 374.

[1] *Memoirs.* P. 324.

any matter with them, but gave their opinions to the King in those things which he demanded of them; and sometimes would put the King in mind of some particular things: but otherwise they did not speak at all. In this treaty the King manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him, wherein he allowed all freedom; and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them. His unhappiness was, that he had a better opinion of others' judgment than of his own: and of this the Parliament's Commissioners had experience to their great trouble[2]."

Nay, indeed,—for as the Author of the *Icón Basilikè* has said, "Nothing makes mean spirits more cowardly cruel, than the guilt of unjust usurpation[3],"—the very *abilities* of him whom they had a thousand times slighted and scorned, and pronounced not fit to reign, on account of his incapacity, those very abilities,—as the same Author of *Icón Basilikè* appears to have anticipated; for, he says, (referring to their barbarous publication of his private letters, taken in the cabinet at Naseby),—"It is probable some men will *now* look upon me as my own counsellor; and having none else to quarrel with under that notion, they will *hereafter* confine their anger to myself[4];" when, therefore, the imputation of his incapacity could no longer serve its malicious purpose, they converted his *abilities* into so many arguments for his destruction. He must not reign, he must die, *because of his abilities*. He would

[2] *Memoirs*. P. 65. Edit. 1682.
[3] Chap. XXVIII.
[4] Chap. XXI.

be dangerous to the State, or rather, dangerous to themselves.

Thus, the savage Goodwin, in his *Defence of the sentence passed upon the late King*, "Some," says he, "rise up early to commend and praise the King for his parts of knowledge, wisdom, understanding, &c. but, do these men know, that speaking these things, they put him to the greatest rebuke, and justify his judges who condemned him, so much the more[5]!"

Again:—

"I remember very well," says one of the servants of the King, and who had been his secretary at war during the military operations, "that Sir Henry Vane, the younger, in a discourse that I had with him, during the treaty in the Isle of Wight, told me, that they were much deceived in his Majesty, who was represented to them to be a weak person, and that they believed him to have been so; but now they found him far otherwise, and that he was a person of great parts and abilities. Hereupon he inferred, that they must consider their own securities, and that he feared the time was past, to do any good by treaty. And, that the effect of these fears made good this, their too late, observation, his Majesty soon after felt, by the councils and hands of most inhuman and barbarous regicides[6]."

But, we can refer to an authority, which, with some perhaps, will gain more credit, than any that I have yet appealed to. Cromwell more than once said to Lord Orrery, "that if the King had followed his own judgment, and had been attended by none but trusty servants, *he had fooled them all*[7]."

[5] P. 90.

[6] *Discourses, by Sir Edward Walker.* fol. 1705. P. 319. See another instance, in *Narrative of Passages relating to the Long Parliament.* Somers's Tracts. Vol. VI. P. 586. Edit. 2.

[7] Carte's *Life of Ormond.* Vol. II. P. 12.

And again: though perhaps we may justly suspect, that there was something of the crocodile in his tears, I will quote what he said to Sir John Berkeley: "He told me that he had lately seen the tenderest sight that ever his eyes beheld; which was, the interview between the King and his children; and he wept plentifully at the remembrance of it; saying,—That never man was so abused as He in his sinister opinions of the King, who, he thought, was the uprightest and most conscientious man of his three kingdoms [8]."

Perhaps, I have been more copious than was necessary, in these citations: but, if they have no other use, they will suffice to shew, that we must not think meanly of the intellectual and moral faculties of the King. In fact, the notion of his want of talents, perhaps still too prevalent, was founded only in ignorance; and in ungenerous and unkindly prejudice. Cromwell I may again remark, and with direct reference to the work we are now upon, knew better: and, therefore, when soon after the King's death, he found Lady Winwood reading, as every body then read, the *Icôn Basilikè*, and she asked him, *My Lord, do you believe the late King to be the author of it?* all he could say was, *Yes, most certainly: for, he was the greatest hypocrite in the world.*

But it is not merely that the King had *abilities* to qualify him for this work. On a variety of accounts,

[8] *Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley.* Harleian Miscell. Vol. IX. P. 475.

he was likely to employ himself in the manner required: he was likely *to endeavour* that such a book should be composed.

The Editors of the History of the Rebellion tell us, in their Preface, that Lord Clarendon wrote that work "by the express command of the King." I am not certain that this is not somewhat too strongly worded. Assuredly, however, the work was undertaken with the knowledge and approbation of the Sovereign: and its eminent author has professed obligations to his Master for material assistance in more than one portion of the history. Now, he who approved of, and wished for the Narrative, might reasonably further wish to leave behind him,—in behalf of his own good name; *for* the sake of his party and friends; *for* the use of his family, especially of his successor; and *for* his unhappy subjects, a record,—the last service he could render to them who were dearer to him than life itself; a last sad effort, to restore, not so much the Royal Family, as to *restore* his bewildered people; his subjects, strangely beguiled and metamorphosed by the incantations of hypocrisy and rebellion; a faithful record, of the views, opinions, and motives by which he had been actuated, during the latter eventful years of his earthly sojourn.

But, besides these forcible reasons, there were others of a more *private* nature, *why* Charles might be likely to employ himself on a work such as the *Icón Basilikè*. From his early years, he was fond of

exercising his pen [9]. And we know, by unquestionable evidence, that he was a thoughtful and pious man. The circumstances in which it pleased Divine Providence to place him, called for much self-examination; and happily he listened, in a reverential and teachable spirit, to the heavenly call. His forlorn condition, often and long removed as he was, from every thing earthly that his soul held dear; from his wife, children, friends and home, for all of which he had a heart of the tenderest sensibility, drove him into closer communion with that friend of the distressed, whom, in prosperity, he had not forgotten. "Looking out of his presence-chamber, at Newport," says Sir Philip Warwick, "I being in the room, he beckoned me, and shewed me in the street an old little crumpling man, and asked, *Whether I knew him.* No, Sir, said I, I never saw him before. *I shew him you,* says he, *because that was the best companion I had, for three months together, in Carisbroke Castle, where he made my fires* [1]." Hence, from the additional influence of circumstances and considerations like these, Charles was likely to be engaged in Meditations, such as the *Icón Basilikè* contains; and likely to record them, not merely for others, but for his own further private edification.

[9] "It is well known, that his Majesty had always a fine stroke with his pen: which he practised at all times of leisure and recess from business, from before his coming to the crown, to these last extremities: by which means he became master of a pure and elegant stile." *Short View* (Heylin's) *of the Life and Reign of King Charles.* 1658. 12mo. P. 138.

[1] *Memoirs.* P. 280.

The fire burnt within him, and was it wonderful, therefore, that he should at length speak with his tongue? Whatever motives, therefore, might lead him to wish for the History, all these, with others of quite as cogent and serious a kind, might prompt him to wish for, and to endeavour to write such a book as the *Icôn Basilikè*.

But, if it was probable, that the King should desire this work, it may be enquired, Might he not be content to have it executed by another? Might he not wish to have it executed, by a *better* hand than his own?

No: I think not. Your Grace will immediately see that, on such a supposition, one portion of the motives which we have judged likely to operate, and that not the least powerful and interesting, is entirely annihilated: or rather is, in fact, wholly perverted, and turned into the very contrary.

No! Charles's were *real* sorrows. There was no drama, no fiction, no feigned effect in them; nor in the pious exercises which his afflictions prompted and required. What consolation could he find in his fallen estate, but the consciousness of endeavouring to amend what had been done amiss; and to do his duty for the remainder, in all his relations, both to God and man?

I said a great deal, in my former Letter, of the incredibility of Gauden putting forward his claim, unless it were true. Is not something due to the King, in the same line of argument? Assuredly, a

very great deal. As much I should think to the full; as can be attributed to Gauden. Shall he then, in his utmost need, forfeit all that his enemies have left him, a good conscience; and barter away his integrity, in the act of immediate communion and intercourse with that only Friend who remained to behold him, and converse with him in his solitude? Once the King was planning an escape, and it proceeded so far, that he had put himself in the disguise, and went down the back stairs with Sir Robert Murray. "But his Majesty apprehending it was scarce possible to pass through all the guards, without being discovered, and judging it *hugely indecent to be caught in such a condition*, changed *his resolution*, and went back; as Sir Robert informed the writer[2]." But, *he* who shrunk from the detection of his disguise by the eye of man, we are to believe will encounter all that same hazard, in an infinitely more critical and discreditable form, when it is further coupled with an especial affront to the all-seeing eye of God. Shall he, I say, be guilty of fraud and forgery, in his very dying hour; and step into eternity with a lie in his right hand? Or, suppose this to be so, then we must be further compelled to condemn him out of his own mouth. With what face, if the book were itself a forgery, could the author write, or the King adopt, as a special and bitter ground of complaint, that his enemies, "with *exquisite* malice had mixed the gall and vinegar of

[2] *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.* By Gilbert Burnet. fol. 1677. P. 307.

falsity and contempt with the cup of his affliction; *charging him with untruths*[3];" which, says he, upon another occasion, " I hate above all things[4]."

I grant, indeed, that Princes are habituated to act by the instrumentality of others. State papers and official documents of innumerable kinds, run in the royal name, of which the drawing doubtless is the work of other hands than that of the Sovereign in whose behalf they are issued. I grant, therefore, that if, in questions such as we are speaking of, there can be a *less* and a *more*, the fault would, in *this* single view, be something *less*, or something *different*, (I do not say, that in *other* views it would not be *greater*,) in the person of a King, than in that of another man.

But, however this may be in things of a *temporal* and *official* nature,—how much soever, in respect of these, he might say, as he often did, " That he would willingly make his own dispatches, but that he found it better to be a cobler, than a shoemaker[5]," yet, assuredly, this must be altogether otherwise, in religious exercises, and in the question of a Sovereign's esteem and reputation with his people, for devotion and piety. I cannot think that Charles would seek to commend himself, by contriving to pass off a deceit of that kind upon his subjects. Supposing that any mortal pen, besides his own, could have produced such a book,—*use* it,

[3] Chap. 12.

[4] *King's Cabinet opened.* Harleian Miscellany. Vol. VII. P. 562. Edit. 3.

[5] Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoirs.* P. 70.

perhaps, he might: this I will not deny: but *publish* it, as his own, the King never could.

True: and so it is, in fact. Thus it is, (we shall be told,) that the story runs. It is not pretended that the King had desired, or thought of this book. He did not ask it from Gauden: but, it fell into his lap, unlooked for, und unrequired; and what wonder, that he should be tempted, in his extremity, to appropriate so beauteous and precious a prize?—Yes: but in what sense appropriate it? Gauden tells us, "His Majesty graciously accepted, owned, and *adopted* the book as his sense and genius; not only with great approbation, but admiration." This he tells us: for, it was necessary to his scheme, to be able to say, that he had laid his Sovereign under an *acknowledged* obligation. But, even Gauden has not ventured to tell, that the King *so* adopted it, as *to authorize and command its publication*. If any thing, his constrained and studied expressions will rather appear to intimate the contrary. Even the utmost that Mrs. Gauden can say, is, "That his Majesty desired *time to consider of it*:" leaving us quite in the dark, *what* the result of his deliberations might be; or, whether he ever once thought any more about it. While, according to Dr. Walker's version, even Gauden himself goes so far the contrary way, as to tell us, that when he was asked by Walker, "whether the King had *ever seen* the book, he gave this answer, *I know it certainly no more than you*."—And why is all this? Why the tale so hesi-

tatingly and so variously told; but that all these persons felt, in greater or less degree, that the King *could not* be, and therefore that the world would not believe, that the King could be guilty of seeking to commend himself to his People, by falling into Gauden's scheme; by appropriating that forgery; by putting on that specious mask and vizard, in the sight of God and man, which they had provided for him? Shall we, therefore, believe that corrupted Nature herself suggested more virtue to these men, and this woman, who stand convicted of a most gross imposture, upon their own confession; than to the meek, virtuous, and pious Charles, who, (I feel convinced,) had, at this very moment, made up his mind to die as a victim for his people; and who, I doubt not, sustained his spirit, in holy enthusiasm, through this self-devoting enterprize, by tracing some resemblances between his own case, and that of the great Propitiation for his sins, and those of the whole world? No. When these persons, even in the midst of their unhallowed *deed*, or rather, of their not less unhallowed *pretensions*, *felt*, — shall there be any who will not *feel* and *avow*,—that it was *improbable*, that it was *impossible*,—that the King should wish for, or should accept and sanction, such a work as the *Icón Basilikè*, from any hand but his own? I repeat my conviction, if Charles *published* the book, he also *wrote* it.

But to take the case, even upon that latter account of Dr. Walker, what *probability* is there, in

that view of the subject?—Let the King have been wholly innocent, and ignorant, both of the writing, and the publication. Let all that was told in my former Letter, have been lighter than dreams: not one of all the historical particulars have had the slightest foundation in fact;—yet *some* basis of truth I suppose *must* be allowed us to set our foot upon. Somebody did the deed. And thus much, I presume, may be relied on, that the manuscript was sent down to the King, (whether he ever saw it or not,) at the Newport treaty, by the hands of the Marquess of Hertford, and Bishop Duppa; and that these two persons, at least, were conscious of what they carried along with them. Lord Capel, too, *we are told*, was privy to the design; and Mr. Symmons, *it is certain*, was a party in carrying it into execution. But, besides these, we can hardly think it possible, that the act of publication could be ventured upon, or be effected, without others of the King's servants or friends, either being consulted, or making the discovery. How could all that was thus scheming at Newport, and going on between the parties there, and Symmons and Royston in London, be kept from Juxon, the King's spiritual guide and confessor at his death: and how, from the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, Archbishop Usher, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Morley, Sir Philip Warwick, Sir Edward Walker, and others[6], all, by his own

[6] "Charles the Second, therefore, who knew Morley, Duppa, and others, *to approve of this fraud, to which they were privy*, and for whose advantage the belief

desire, now present, and assistant to the King at the treaty? Now, the former parties, we are required to *believe*, and the latter, by consequence, we must think it *probable*, were agents in, or consenting to the design. And yet, than the Marquess of Hertford, and Lord Capel, and Bishop Duppa, and Mr. Symmons, more honourable-minded men never lived. Shall we venture to affirm, that, whether *with* or *without* the suit of the King, they would combine, and lend themselves to carry this work into effect, if it were an imposture? Mrs. Gauden, indeed, tells us respecting one of them, the Marquess, that when pressed by the plea of the imminent danger of the life of his Majesty, he "bade her husband to do what he would:" but even this, we see was a permission only extorted by dire necessity: this, she continues, was "in regard *the case was desperate.*" But, even Mrs. Gauden tells of another of them, Lord Capel,—"*he* said it was not fit to print it, *without his Majesty's approbation.*" True: the thing was impossible: absolutely impossible, that, at this critical season, these men, could have dared, of themselves, and without the privity of the King, to plunge the name of their beloved and venerated Master into the hazard of the sea of reviling, contempt and indignation from his

of it was serviceable, must either suspect the forgeries laid by Protestants to the charge of Popery, when he actually knew the Protestants to play the same game, or not being able to deny the Popish cheats, it is most probable the opinion which his intimate friends had of him was too true, that he was really of neither Church, but believed the pretences of both to be credulity or craft." Toland's *Life of Milton*. P. 78.

enemies, and grief and anguish from his friends, with which the detection of an endeavour to pass a fraud of a devotional kind upon the kingdom, at such a moment, must have been followed. No: Capel, at least, I hardly think, would have died, without leaving behind him, the one faithful testimony of a true friend, who would not have such a cause supported by any but honorable means! I think it highly probable, that he would have left some such testimony with Morley, who was his spiritual companion and guide at the scaffold. Again: considering the intimate connexion which subsisted[7] between Lord Capel, and Morley, and Symmons, which last, as all agree, was the principal agent in carrying the work through the press; Symmons could hardly fail of knowing those sentiments of his patron; and, in addition to the arguments of his own upright mind, would never have undertaken the part he did, when Lord Capel disapproved, and the King was unconscious. No. The story of the Gaudens requires *many* things to be done, that are *every way* incredible. I say nothing, all this time, how utterly impossible it is, that any part of this account should be reconciled with the evidence, that Symmons lived and died declaring that the work was the King's. These men, therefore, could never have contributed to the publication of this book, but because it was their Sovereign's.

[7] Of this we have evidence sufficient, in the Letters subjoined to *Daily Observations and Meditations, written by a Person of Honour and Piety*, (Lord Capel.) 4to. 1654. See p. 43.

But, even supposing, for the sake of argument, that the Marquess of Hertford, and Bishop Duppa, and Symmons, had ventured upon this deed of impossible daring, (impossible as respects the relative circumstances of a Sovereign and his subjects;) and that they had consented to work *under* Gauden, because it was *for* the King;—suppose, too, that the Duke of Richmond, and the rest whom we before enumerated, were consenting to and assistant in the undertaking; or that it was discovered by them *in* its progress, or *after* its execution; (and it is hardly possible to conceive, but that some one of these must have been the case,)—then, I would next ask, is it likely that *the secret*, among men, parties to, or cognizant of such a transaction, could have been preserved, and re-enacted daily, and supported by innumerable falsehoods, to be accumulated and repeated continually so long as they lived, and yet no other person ever *detect*, or even *suspect*, the fraud; and no compunction and sorrow, no death-bed repentance and confession, (we *have* death-bed declarations, that the King was the author,) ever transpire, to set the world free from this thraldom of imposture and forgery?

In fact, my Lord, on the hypothesis of the Gaudens, we are met with insurmountable difficulties, and inextricable perplexities, on every hand. Of himself, the King could not be guilty of the fraud. This we believe: and we take the matter more willingly in this light, because the Gaudens, from

the operation of a secret consciousness of the infirmity of their case, seem inclined to allow[8] the same. Yet, if so, could he then have asked his friends to do that, from which he shrunk himself;—to aid the fraud, and to conceal it, *for him*? If, by any possibility he could, is it to be believed, that they, one and all, would have complied? If he did not ask this at their hands, is it possible, that they would have dared to carry on the imposture, of their own accord? Which supposition shall we chuse? For my part, I cannot like any one of them. I think all are incredible: and, therefore, I hold the book to be not Gauden's, but the King's.

But, there is another imaginable case. Let us try the question, therefore, on that ground. We have supposed the King to be innocent. What if all his Counsellors and Divines were the same?—I am not sure that the Gaudens, (perhaps from the like reason, as in the case of the King, that they felt we could not believe their being accomplices), do not wish, and intend, that we should receive their history in that sense. Gauden says, *the King kept the*

[8] Dr. Walker, indeed, in his determination to vindicate his friend, gives us a statement not consistent with this view of the subject. He asks, "Why Dr. Gauden was more an Atheist, for preparing these Discourses for the King, *to be owned, or laid aside, as to his Majesty's wisdom should seem good*; than those who prepare forms of devotion for others to use, or let alone as they see occasion?" P. 12. But then, this account is not consistent with that of Mrs. Gauden, who makes the printing, (*justified*, she hints, *by the necessity of the case,*) the work of her husband. And it is also inconsistent with his own book; first, where he makes Gauden say, that "he does not certainly know that the King ever saw the book," (p. 5); and, secondly, where he tells us, that when Gauden "saw the violence that threatened the King, hastening so fast, *he ventured to print it; and never knew what was the issue of sending it.*" P. 5.

Manuscript by him; but not a word about his sending to Royston, the Printer; or, of his delivering the Book to Symmons; or, of his ever thinking of the Book being *printed*. And, he adds, in like generalizing and studied expressions, *yet God preserved and prospered this Book, to revive his honor.* In furtherance of the same view of the subject, we are to observe, that Mrs. Gauden expressly tells us, it *was her husband that resolved to print the Book*[9]; that when it was seized in the press, he it was that *printed it again:* and all this is done, merely upon his own motion, with the sole extorted permission of the Marquess of Hertford, without a word being said of any sanction from Duppa, or the other Counsellors at Newport: or rather indeed, we are to believe that all this was decided upon, and done, (for plainly, by her account, the Marquess brought no consent from the King when he saw him, for the last time; viz. November 29, at the close of the treaty), all this, I say, must have been done *after* the breaking up of the treaty, and the dispersion of all the King's Friends and Counsellors; that is, after the seizure of the King by the army, and during his miserable solitary confinement to Hurst Castle; a time when all communication, for such purposes, was probably wholly impossible. Are we to suppose then, that there was really no communion of Counsels, (as well as no consent of the King); but that the exploit

[9] So also Walker. "He ventured to print it; and never knew what was the issue of sending it." *True Account.* P. 5.

was accomplished, *out of a just and generous loyalty*, by the single daring of Gauden,—the allowance of Hertford, and the additional slight help of Symmons, as a go-between to the press? Is this the hypothesis by which we shall abide? Is this the statement upon which the Gaudens are content to stand or fall?—In that case, let us consider what will follow. Thus far, indeed, we shall have our gain. The King was innocent; and his Ministers and Divines, (with the single reluctant exception of Lord Hertford in the former class, and of Symmons in the latter), now turn out to have been innocent likewise. Henceforward, your Grace's distinguished Predecessors, Juxon and Sheldon; henceforward the generous Patriots, the gallant Soldiers, the high-minded Nobles, the wise Statesmen, the illustrious Confessors, the glorious Martyrs, the faithful Servants, all are free. We may rejoice in their acquittal. For the future, Calumny must be silent. She is stript of one of her most favourite common-places. So far, we have a great gain: and with this we must rest satisfied. All human things are imperfect. Having rescued these great and good men from the class of the fraudulent and false, we must provide a place for them in another fraternity, not altogether so creditable as might be desired. They were the Dupes of a single private Divine in Essex, with no other help than some slight countenance and assistance from his Wife and his Curate; from a single Nobleman, and one other private Clergyman; both of

these last being in their graves, when we first hear of this story. They all lived, I say, and died in the harmless unsuspecting condition of Naturals; and no body else being conscious of their folly, but poor Dr. Walker and Mrs. Gauden. Alas! Alas! What credulity so sottish, as to swallow all these prodigies! Into how surprising a state of things, I say, are we now fallen! All the Friends of the King are dupes to one or two persons, acting in most effectual behalf of their Master, which persons, till then, had been little better than his enemies. Or, if we are to suppose that part of the King's Friends were *dupes*, and the rest were *accomplices;* see, my Lord, in the next place, in what relation one towards another, these two divisions are severally constituted! How could this state of things possibly subsist between persons the dearest to one another, and in the closest degrees of confidence, in every thing, except this dark secret? How every way incredible, that their relative situation should continue unsuspected by one party, and unbetrayed by the other! But if the slightest suspicion had been once excited, into what flames of resentment and indignation would not this Community of Friends have been thrown? No, my Lord, we must return, and must persist in what we said. It is highly probable, that the King should wish for such a Book as the *Icón Basilikè;* and certain, that he could wish it to be executed by no other hand but his own. The Book, therefore, is the King's; and the pretensions which we have to

the contrary, whether as applied to his own share in the transaction, or to that of his Friends, on whatever side we view them, are in the highest degree monstrous and incredible.

But again. Supposing now that these incredible things have actually taken place. The King, as we have seen, is innocent; and his Statesmen and Divines are innocent likewise. And now at length, twelve years after, Clarendon is informed by Gauden, that he and all the rest of the world have been his (Gauden's) dupes. The situation, to be sure, (especially considering the circumstances), could be no way flattering to a man's pride. It is not so bad, however, as it would have been, if they had all been his tools and accomplices. Gauden, it is plain, is ready enough to take all the blame both of writing and of publishing the work upon himself. In all the other persons concerned, there seems to have been no great degree of wrong. *No great wrong in the King. All* he did, (if he did even so much), was to *use* a Book of Private Devotions. No wrong at all in any of the Divines and Counsellors; if we except Hertford, and Duppa, and Symmons. The extent of all that the rest had *done*, was, that they had ignorantly enjoyed for a time, the benefits which fortune had cast into their lap. Now, really, if this were all; if Clarendon were really convinced that the case was thus; why might he not have taken the words out of Gauden's mouth? why shrink from confessing to all the world, "The King did indeed privately read and

use the Book, but he did not publish it. Neither did we publish it. All of that kind was done purely by Dr. Gauden?" Living many years after the Restoration, why, if he were convinced that Gauden's pretensions were true—why, if only for the love of truth, and to do credit to the ingenuity of Dr. Gauden, (especially when he knew that Charles II. had no scruple on the subject), might not Clarendon have disclosed how the matter really was, and thus have cast off all suspicion from his own memory, and from that of his beloved Sovereign?

But, to proceed another step in the argument. Our case is not a little strengthened, in the next place, by the information which we possess of the most authentic kind, of the nature and degree of the *actual occupations* of the King, during the times in which the work professes to have been principally composed. Designedly, I say nothing now of our *direct* testimonies; but, the *professions of the Work itself* lead us to fix upon his residencies at Newcastle, at Holdenby, and at Carisbrook, as three principal stations in which the Meditations are to be supposed to have taken place. Now, "the King," says Herbert, speaking of him when at Holdenby, "every Sunday sequestered himself to his private devotion; and all other days in the week spent two or three hours in Reading, and other pious Exercises[1]." In his progresses to and fro with the army, between

[1] *Memoirs*, p. 12. edit. 1702.

Holdenby and Hampton Court, " the presence chamber was constantly thronged with people, especially when his Majesty was at dinner or supper, and he seldom or never failed to dine in public; and when the people saw his Majesty withdraw, their prayers in loud acclamations ever followed him. *The King still observed his usual hours for private devotion*[2]:" and we learn by the same authority, that at Carisbrook, " he carefully observed his usual times set apart for his *Devotion, and for Writing*[3]. I forbear to cite other testimonies, considering the point sufficiently established. I would remark, therefore, how consistent is all this retirement, privacy, and meditation, with the writing the *Icôn Basilikè!* and how forcible would the argument have been against us, if his habits had been otherwise. The great share of time which his Majesty passed, early and late, at his papers, and in solitude, we saw was matter of curiosity and speculation to some of the Friends of the Parliament, while he was at Carisbrook. Upon this they searched his chamber: and, naturally enough, their wonder ceased, when they found pinned up behind the hangings many sheets of this book, written in the King's own hand. As Sir Philip Warwick tells us, " the King was of as slow a pen as of speech; though both were very significant[4]:" and I doubt not that he laboured this volume

[2] Ibid. P. 27.
[3] Ibid. P 42.
[4] *Memoirs.* P. 70.

very much: and spent a great deal of time in repeatedly revising and transcribing it. This, I am inclined to infer from *internal evidence;* and there is much *direct testimony* which tends to corroborate the opinion.

Portions of his time, no doubt, the King spent in reading, especially in the study of the Scriptures. What preparation could arm him so well for divine contemplation?—But, next to the Scriptures, he had other favorite volumes, no way inconsistent with the writing such a Book as *Icôn Basilikè;* but rather the contrary. I shall be thought warranted in this remark, when I enumerate the names of Hooker, the divine Herbert, and Spenser; and may I not venture to add, in spite of the disingenuous, puritanical scoff of Milton, "the closet companion of his solitudes, William Shakspeare [5]?"

But further. It is well known, that the effects produced on the minds of the People of England, I might indeed say, of Europe, by the publication of the *Icôn Basilikè* were very extraordinary. I now ask, therefore, was there any thing of a *different* character discernible in the *results* consequent upon the *personal* presence and conversations of the King, in his seasons of affliction, and during the professed periods of the composing of that volume, but while little or nothing could *yet be known publicly* of its ex-

[5] *Iconoclastes.* Chap. I.

istence. Quite otherwise. The two sets of *Phænomena* are in perfect correspondence and harmony with each other. Wherever he came, with whomsoever he had intercourse, faction and rebellion vanished, or were silent; and, in multitudes of cases, all the unfriendly passions were speedily transformed into the deepest sympathy; and soon into an ardent veneration and loyalty. Hence, the frequent changes, by authority of Parliament, of the King's attendants and servants; because they could not trust them. "I employed Huntington," says Cromwell, "as the man about the King: but he is so bewitched with him, that I am afraid of him [6]." And thus, emotions were produced by the *living language* of the King's demeanour and conduct, his virtues and sufferings, in every way accordant with those mixt feelings of grief, admiration, and self-reproaches, which the Book, the *King's Portraiture*, his *written language*, shortly after excited, to a degree perhaps unequalled by any work that the world ever saw.

We have now brought our history of the King to a certain point, where I am disposed to leave him for a time, in order to turn to Dr. Gauden. We quit Charles in his Solitudes and Sufferings, employed in such manner, as we have seen from his *talents*, his *condition*, his *temper*, and *habits*, he well *might* be, and was *wont to be;* and in which indeed he *must* have

[6] *The Independants' Loyalty.* 1648. Lord Somers's Tracts. Vol. V. P. 164. Edit. 2.

been employed, if he really was, as the world once thought, and as *we* now think, the Author of *Icón Basilikè*.—Let us, I say, next direct our thoughts to Dr. Gauden, and make a few enquiries respecting him. In what number and degree are these *previous probabilities* which we meet with in the King, centered in *him* also?

With respect to the point of Dr. Gauden's *literary abilities*, abstractedly considered, I own I am not disposed to take a very confident position against him, on that particular account. These have been, perhaps, by some Writers in this controversy, too much under-rated. Open *some* of his Works, indeed; read, for instance, his foolish and childish, (yet still *time-serving*) Book, *The strange and wonderful Vision and Predictions of William Juniper of Gosfield in Essex, relating to the Troubles of England, as they were by him delivered to Dr. John Gauden, then at Bocking, now Lord Bishop of Exon.* (4to. 1662); read his feeble *Religious and Loyal Protestation against the present declared purposes of the Army and others, about the trying and destroying our Sovereign Lord the King*, written at the very time when the *Icón* was in the press; read again his savage and hyper-tragical *Invective against those of the Army and their Abettors who murthered King Charles I.*, written, as he tells us, ten days after the murder;—and you will say it is wholly impossible that this man could have been the Author of *Icón Basilikè*. Still, Gauden was no ordinary person. His writings are almost

as perplexing as his history. Read his earliest published production, his Sermon in 1641, which made him so popular with the Parliament; read the next, the "*Three Sermons preached on several public Occasions,*" printed in 1642; and in these, perhaps, we shall think, nothing is apparent, so very unlike the *Icón Basilikè*. Perhaps we may think there is nothing in the stile, cast of thought, moral tone and tenor, of these three or four Sermons, to prevent such a writer, in due time, and in *the proper circumstances*, (that is, *if the case were his own*), from producing such a Book as the *Icón;* but rather the contrary. It is true also, that many passages of considerable learning, and much eloquence; and some others which remind you occasionally of the turn of thought and expression in *that* Book, can be found in others of his many and voluminous writings. Therefore, under the limitations implied, I am not disposed to take my special stand for victory against Gauden on the ground of his *abilities.*—At the same time I can justly say, that (with the exception of the early-written Sermons) nothing can be more different than the *Icón* and the *general* stile and manner of Dr. Gauden's acknowledged writings; and never have you a whole page or paragraph from him, without something peculiar in the stile and manner; and of a kind of which there is nothing in the *Icón.*

But who was Charles, and who and what was Gauden, that he should *think of* personating his Sovereign; and *should* personate him; and should *so succeed* in personating him, as to deceive the whole

world, from that time forward; and, saving his own confession, to deceive them through all future ages?

If I have not made an entirely erroneous estimate, Gauden has indeed *put off* himself, his own mind, his temper, his manner, and language, and has assumed the very port and spirit; the every look, gesture, and sentiment of the King. The very life-blood of the Monarch, warm and sparkling, has been transfused into him—And who now, was Gauden, that this should take place in him?—Doubtless we are to suppose, that he must have known the King intimately; have observed him long and nearly; have been his friend, or his servant; have been of his party, and have felt *with* him, and *for* him?—No, in truth. Little or nothing of the kind. In truth, much the very contrary and opposite to all this.

Milton and the rest of the King's enemies, when they are undertaking to insinuate a forgery, speak of a "household rhetorician," "a Court Parasite," "a Prelatical Levite," "a household Priest," and the like. The very reason of the thing told them, that these were the only befitting terms for the insinuation which it was their task to propagate.—Again: The Author of *The Princely Pelican* thinks it enough to put out of the question all pretences in behalf of a Dr. Harris, whose name happened to be mentioned as an alleged compiler of the Book, to say, "As for Dr. Harris, it is well known, he had *no relation* to the King. He might pretend it; but never had it. Neither to the hour of printing the Book, had this supposed Author, I am confident, so much as the

least view of these Meditations." (Your Grace will not omit to notice the air of reality that there is about the whole of this passage; and to remember, that this is the same writer, whom I cited in my former Letter, respecting the important points of the King's conversation in the Garden at Theobalds, and of the Naseby Copy). "For," continues he, "during the time that we were permitted to attend the King's person; and since such time as he first addressed his pious pains to this Work, Dr. Harris had never any usual society with us; nor access to Him, who justly had command over us[7]."

But then, had Gauden any such society, or relation to the King, or to the King's affairs? Was he "a household Rhetorician," "a Court Parasite," "a Prelatical Levite," or any thing else of that kind of term, which the base or the bigotted railers of every age have at command in abundance, for Loyalty, and Patriotism, and Piety? No such thing. Dr. Walker himself mentions, what is most true, that "Gauden had never been the King's Chaplain[8]." He tells us further,—information a great deal more to the purpose than he contemplated, "How should Dr. Gauden *receive* the Book from the King? He was *utterly unknown to him;* lived at a great distance from him in the Parliament's Quarters; and was under prejudice with the Royal Party[9]." Once, but, (as I believe) *never but once,*

[7] P. 25.
[8] *True Account of the Author of Icon Basilikè.* P. 7.
[9] Ibid. P. 26-7.

Dr. Gauden preached before the King. This was about the end of the year 1641, and many months previous to the commencement of the war; and previous therefore to the subject matter of the work. I do not know that, on this occasion, Gauden enjoyed the honour of any personal intercourse with his Sovereign. He speaks with all due modesty of being, at that time, "a stranger to the place, and no way proportionable to so great and sacred a presence[1]." His doctrine in that discourse, (whatever he may himself have *said* respecting it, at a subsequent period), will not be thought by competent judges very likely to conciliate the favor of the Monarch to a Preacher, who had very shortly before received the *Honorarium* of a silver tankard, for a most uncourtly Sermon, *The Love of Truth and Peace*, preached before the Parliament. *Once*, then, he was, but I am inclined to think that he never was a *second* time, in presence before the King. How, therefore, under such circumstances, should Gauden catch those exquisite touches of the Royal Character, that intimate knowledge of all his turns of thought and expression, nothing short of Personal Identity; and that most copious, complete, and unerring acquaintance with all his circumstances and concerns; in which the *Icón Basilikè abounds;* or rather, of which it is *entirely composed?*

But might he not learn all this from others?—Is

[1] *Three Sermons preached on several public Occasions*, by John Gauden, D.D. 4to 1642. P. 1.

such a supposition credible? Is it possible?—Yet since we have now sufficiently ascertained, that, if *he ever had* all this knowledge, he *could* come by it *in no other way*, I will not shrink, therefore, from saying a word or two upon this view of the case.

About the time of the King's death, and subsequently to the King's death, and hence, subsequently to the publication of the *Icôn Basilikè*, a considerable change, no doubt, did take place in the sentiments and in the habits of life of Gauden; into the causes of which change I need not at present enquire. But almost up to the moment of the murder, and during the whole of the events of the seven or eight years of which the topics of the Book consist, what was Gauden's party? Who were his associates, his friends, his patrons? What were his courses of Thinking and Acting?—The "worthy Friend" whom he selects as the instrument for communicating his *Religious and Loyal Protestation* to "his Excellency" (General Fairfax) "and the rest of the Council of War," was *Cromwell's* kinsman, Colonel Whaley, whom, with very little ceremony, Sir Philip Warwick designates, as "a ridiculous Fanatick, as well as a crack-brained fellow[2];" and Clarendon, speaking of him as placed in guard over the King, describes as "a man of a rough and brutal temper, who offered great violence to his nature, when he appeared to exercise any civility and good manners[3];" Gauden was tutor to Mr. Rich, — a

[2] *Memoirs.* P. 307.

[3] *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. III. p. 115.

son of Lord Rich—a grandson of the Earl of Warwick, and married to one of Cromwell's daughters. He himself espoused a daughter of the Baronet-family of the Russells of Chippenham; a family, at that time, by no means distinguished for loyalty; and it was a connexion of which Gauden was proud. Colonel Rich, of whom it was sworn at the trial of the Regicides, that he sat up, at Windsor, when the consultations were going on for the murder of the King, along with Cromwell, Ireton, and Hugh Peters, "till two or three o'clock in the morning very privately together," appears to have been another of his associates; and his great patron was Rich's kinsman, Robert Earl of Warwick; whose house at Lees, in Essex, at the very time when Gauden, and afterwards when his friend Walker was domestic chaplain there, is described by Anthony a Wood, as "the common receptacle of all schismatical preachers in those parts[4];" and whose character is drawn by Lord Clarendon, as follows:—

"The Earl of Warwick was of the King's Council too, but was not wondered at for leaving the King, whom he had never well served; nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that honour, which, he knew, was conferred upon him in the crowd of those whom his Majesty had no esteem of, or ever proposed to trust; so, his business was to join with those to whom he owed his promotion. He was a man of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation; of an universal jollity; and such a licence in his words, and in his actions, that a man of less virtue could not be found out: so that one might reasonably have believed that a man so qualified would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a

[4] *Athenæ.* Vol. II. p. 19.

nation and kingdom. But, with all these faults, he had great authority and credit with that people, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his house the rendezvous of all the silenced Ministers, in the time when there was authority to silence them; and spending a good part of his estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them; and by being present with them at their devotions, and making himself merry *with* them, and *at* them, which they dispensed with, he became the head of the Party; and got the style of a *Godly man*. When the King revoked the Earl of Northumberland's Commission of Admiral, he presently accepted the office from the Parliament; and never quitted their service; and when Cromwell disbanded that Parliament, he betook himself to the protection of the Protector; married his heir to Cromwell's daughter; and lived in so entire a confidence and friendship with him, that, when the Protector died, he exceedingly lamented him! He left his estate, which before was subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired, than any man who trafficked in that desperate commodity of rebellion [a]."

I believe this character of his patron might be of service to us, if it were our object to illustrate the *whole* character and policy of Gauden. But that is not the purpose for which I now cite it: and I content myself with further remarking, that it was "in a trunk," among "the points" of this Earl's Countess, that Walker is said to have declared, that part of the papers of the *Icón*, and particularly the Picture, were sent up to London.

It is but little that Gauden speaks of the King in any of his writings, till the probability was apparent of the Restoration of the Monarchy; and never, I believe, till after that event does he quote, or specially refer to the *Icón Basilikè*. No where has he shewn any considerable degree of familiarity with

[a] *Hist. of Rebellion.* Vol. II. p. 312.

the private concerns of the King; or with his public transactions; with the official documents, State Papers, and Declarations, that came out either on the King's side, or on the side of the Parliament. There is no appearance that his thoughts dwelt much upon the eventful history of the late tragical times; though the subjects upon which he writes, *are* such as would naturally have manifested it had that been the case. If he *had written*, or *had been able to write* the *Icón Basilikè*, it is hardly possible but that we should have seen his mind at times overflow with kindred effusions. In perhaps the two most, or *only* circumstantial passages respecting Charles, which we have in all Gauden's voluminous writings, who do we suppose are the persons to whom he refers, as his authorities? In the first instance, his informant is the famous Stephen Marshall, of *Smectymnian* memory; and of no better memory for his blood-guilty Sermon on the text, *Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord, Curse the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to help the Lord, to help the Lord against the Mighty.* (Judges v. verse 23.)

From Marshall, no doubt, he might have learned a good deal respecting one period of the King's history, his detention by the Scots at Newcastle, and by the Parliament at Holdenby. But I see no particular marks, in the passage to which I refer [6], of his having been anxious to collect much from him, or of his anxiety to get what he did collect, accu-

[6] *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria.* Fol. 1659. P. 606.

rately. The other passage is an anecdote of Hugh Peters. "When great complaint was made by Lords and others against the tumults, at a noble Earl's table," (perhaps this was the Earl of Warwick's,) "in the year 1641, when they were most rude and outrageous against King and Bishops, Lords and Commons, Earl of Strafford, and others, Hugh boldly vindicated them in Dr. Gauden's hearing, for the Parliament's best friends, *Quorum pars magna fuit*, he was their great leader and exciter. He protested the chiefest of them were godly young men, apprentices and foremen of shops, or freemen, who every week fasted and prayed for a blessing on their endeavours; that the earth might thus help the woman[7]." Here, no doubt, is knowledge; and knowledge bearing upon a passage in the *Icón Basilikè:* and yet, perhaps, I may hereafter return to this same passage, to derive from it a very strong presumption that Gauden could not be the author of that book. The only other person whom I remember to be cited, as his voucher for any thing which he happens to mention incidentally respecting the King, is the Earl of Warwick's brother, Lord Holland: an improvement this, it must be owned, though not a very great one, upon Stephen Marshall, and Hugh Peters. For, to borrow the expression of Lord Clarendon, the ingratitude of this nobleman towards the Queen was "very odious," and to the King, was "such as would admit

[7] *Anti-Baal-Berith.* 1661. 4to. P. 179.

no *manner* of interposition and excuse." And may I be permitted to mention, that I doubt not this Earl of Holland was one of the persons whom the King had principally in mind, when, in the *Icón*, speaking of himself and the Queen, he uses the following pathetic expressions?

"Neither of us but can easily forgive, since we do not so much blame, the unkindness of the generality and vulgar. For, we see, God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most self-punishing sin the ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have scornfully lift up themselves against us; and those of our own household are become our enemies." Chap. VII.

But the main point for which I am now contending, is this: Who were Gauden's informants? We saw before, that, when nothing short of,—when not even the most intimate acquaintance could have availed, Gauden had *no* acquaintance with the King; and now we ask, Are these the associates, these the conversations, these the habits of mind,— is this a competent preparation for qualifying a man to write the *Icón Basilikè*?

That volume we now hold in our hands: and there are two persons, each claiming to be the author, Charles and Gauden. I will suppose, that hitherto we know little more of the book than its object and general character. Now, *from the argument which we have thus* far prosecuted in this Letter, I ask, which of these two persons is it more probable should have felt disposed to sit down to write that book; and which of the two have been *competent* to

write it; Charles or Gauden? Is there not all possible accumulated probability on one side, and no particle even of likelihood, rather say, every imaginable degree of unlikelihood, on the other? From what we have yet seen of him, is it any way conceivable, that Gauden should even have ever entertained such a design? A man sitting down to write in the person of another, must feel within himself, strong motives, due qualifications, suitable opportunities; or the certain fate which awaits him is detection and ignominy. Now, are those things so; is any one of them so; are they not all directly otherwise, in the case of Gauden? We have a book, which (not at the time, but twelve years after), he tells us, is *his*. *Prima-facie*, is this likely? So far as our argument has proceeded, does it seem probable? Verily I think I must say, that as at all events, I consider the *Icôn Basilikè* to be one of the most impossible books in the world for any one to have written, except its avowed author, so, *as far as we have yet gone*, I think Dr. Gauden one of the least likely men then alive, to have entertained at the time when it was written, the thought of attempting to write; and of the least likely to have been able ever to write that book.—And so, in fact, I enquire, did Milton, or any body else, of those who were set on and aided by a deeply interested and tyrannical government, when they pretended that the book was not the King's,—did they think of Dr. Gauden? Nothing of the kind is in the slightest degree probable. No man ever dreamt of him; till himself, above twelve

years after, privately put in the claim. There was no inducement whatever to lead the world to think of him: and I would ask, therefore, do not these very unlikelihoods, these absences even of first presumptive arguments, constitute a very high degree of improbability, that Gauden himself should ever have thought of such an employment?

But, let all this be supposed to be otherwise. Let these antecedent insurmountable improbabilities be all superseded. Gauden had great confidence in his powers: we will suppose, therefore, that he has made up his mind for the attempt. He will assume the royal person and character.—Now, do we consider what it is to undertake to forge a whole volume; a volume, too, abounding in every page, with the most minute, discriminative and recondite particulars? and *so* to have forged it, that the most competent judges, in all subsequent times, so far from suspecting the fraud, have confidently pronounced, that, if from *internal* reasons alone, the book *must* be the work of the King[8]? He sits down and writes a volume, in the name of an individual, with whom, probably, he had never interchanged a single word: and after having been nursed among a party, and lived in society, where he had been accustomed to hear little or nothing of that person, but what was false, and what was evil. Is not this enough to make a man relinquish in despair the task

[8] Bishop Pearson, South, Warburton, Hume, &c. &c.

which he has presumptuously begun? But Gauden perseveres. He writes without the privity of the King; with no single hint, or help, *before*, from him, or from any of his friends; nor with any communication, in the nature of revision or correction, either respecting the *matter*, or the *stile*, after. All this he does in haste; for, the time admits of no delay. And then he boldly launches the book into the world, on his own responsibility.—Surely the attempt is a most adventurous and hazardous one: and yet it succeeds, without a whisper of suspicion. No single voice is raised against it, but the base voice of the hireling calumniator; called into exercise solely through the force and virtue of the completeness and perfection of that which was accomplished. Is this state of things credible? Is it any way likely or possible? Let Gauden's *inclination* to *dramatize* have been as great as could be: every thing that I can see is decisively against his having the requisite *power*.

The book, however, it is certain, *does exist*. Let us look, therefore, a little closer upon its nature and properties.

If a book is to be forged, the forger necessarily, either wishes his work to escape detection altogether; or he has some lurking selfish aim, that, at some future time, if occasion require, he shall have it in his power, to assert, and for that purpose, should be able to point out in the work itself, evidences of the validity of his claim. Now, if the

former be the case, the forger will be in great danger of betraying himself, by his *solicitude* to hide the fraud: and, if the latter, he is a most skilful contriver indeed, if he do not leave in his performance marks and tokens, whereby its ambidextrous character shall be detected and indicated.

Further, in another view, there would be *special* danger in Gauden's case, from his knowing, and his consciousness of knowing so little of the King. To secure a likeness, (of the difficulty of which, in his circumstances, he could not but be sensible,) he must have been tempted to borrow sentiments and expressions from the printed declarations, state papers, intercepted letters, and other known writings of the King, already extant: in which case his book would have assumed the character of a patch-work, or *Cento;* and thus would have betrayed itself; as has happened in many of the old forgeries. But, as it is *now*, while there is every harmony in sentiment with the other royal documents; and every propriety of expression, in the *Icón;* yet there are no marks whatever of the laborious, anxious, and servile copyist. We trace the same mind: and because it is the same, we behold it expatiating with the native ease and grace of entire freedom, and becoming majesty. We discern in the picture, that degree of similarity and variety, happily blended, which denote the same Master's hand, working unconstrained; and ever working, with those special touches, which are peculiar and appropriate to the varying occasions.

But, the same Gauden, who schemed and executed the work, has told us also of the *moving causes* of his undertaking, and the *end* for which it was designed. He tells us, it was "the effect of a just and generous loyalty."—"This book and figure," says he, "was wholly and only my invention, making, and design, *in order to vindicate the King's wisdom, honor, and piety*.....And though his cruel murderers went on to perfect his martyrdom, yet God preserved and prospered this work, to revive his honor, and redeem his Majesty's name from that grave of contempt, and abhorrence or infamy, in which they aimed to bury him." Mrs. Gauden, more at large, says, "My husband understanding the great value and esteem the people had of Cromwell, and of others in the army, occasioned by the high opinion which they had of their parts and piety; he being also well assured, that one of the main designs of those wicked politicians was to eclipse his Majesty that then was, as much as might be, and to give a false misrepresentation of him to the world, he, that he might do his Majesty right, did pen that book which goes by the name of the King's book." What does this mean, but that he would prove the King's piety, and the like, and rescue his character, or his life, by doing his best to make him and his friends parties in a forgery? It is very observable, also, how much all these motives have respect solely to the *publication* of the book, and not to any *private* uses to be derived from it to the King, or to his friends. This latter might have been piety

and charity. But no. No thought of any thing of that sort seems ever to have entered into the minds of the Gaudens. And so little connexion had Charles himself with the book, according to them, that it is almost a question whether he ever *saw* it. Dr. Walker's theory is somewhat different; but I doubt whether it be much more creditable to any of the parties. "He," (Dr. Gauden,) "had been inclinable to the Parliament's interest, till he found they went beyond their first pretensions, and the expectations of himself and other good men. But when he discovered that, he endeavoured to redeem his error, by bending to the *contrary extreme*. And I am persuaded it was this, which put him upon the designing and finishing of this book."— Now, my Lord, are these the prime motives, these the leading purposes which we should have looked for? Is a man who suggests no better intents than these for his employment, likely to accomplish such a work as the *Icón*?—I think not. And further; again I would ask, how comes it to pass that the book itself opens to us much more elevated and worthy views of its uses and consequences[9]?

[9] Thus: Chap. xv. "Nor shall their black veils be able to hide the shinings of my face, while God gives me a heart frequently and humbly to converse with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true glory and majesty." Chap. xxii. "I must now study to re-inforce my judgment, and fortify my mind with reason and religion." Chap. xxviii. "As I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for my death." Also, when he looks down to earth, and contemplates the bearings of his Meditations, as respects other men—is it for such purposes as the Gaudens intimate? Take, for instance, the following, (Chap. xxi.) where speaking of the Naseby letters, but with a secret reference in the latter part, to the *Icón*, he says,

But, let that also be got over. Next, I would remark, that from every consideration, both as respects Gauden and the King, the book, if it was the work of the former, could not be undertaken till a short period before the death of the latter. The main intents were to save the life, or to rescue the character of the King. This being so, how surprisingly, how incredibly skilful is the management, that, in the very hour of danger, no direct appeal is made to the commiseration or the indignation of the people, in connexion with the critical condition of the very life of their Sovereign! Indeed a most pathetic *effect is* produced: but it is by the *suppression* of almost every thing of moving and tragical application.

Look again at Gauden's work, as respects its avowedly *intended* effects upon the King's *reputation*. I doubt very much, whether there are not in the book several passages of severer self-condemnation

"Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of my heart, (which I study to approve to God's omniscience,) should be *discovered to the world*, without any of those dresses or popular captations, (yet, upon the theory of the Gaudens, the whole book, the whole object, of the *Icón*, is nothing but 'a dress and popular captation,') which some men use in their speeches and expresses. *I wish my subjects had yet a clearer sight into my most retired thoughts.*

"*Where* they might discover how my thoughts are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserve my own rights than to procure their peace and happiness; and that *extreme grief* to see them both deceived and destroyed." And again, the opening of the twenty-seventh chapter: "Son, if these papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflexions of my conscience, and my most impartial thoughts touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed, they may be so far useful to you as to state your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious is the best use that can be made: and they may also give you some directions how to remedy the present distempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come."

put into the mouth of Charles, than any man, writing in the name, and for the benefit of his Sovereign, and, more particularly, than a man like Gauden, (to whom it was almost impossible to abstain from calculations of what might conduce to his own interests,) would have thought it safe to venture upon. Witness the passage about Lord Strafford, and that other respecting the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland [1].

But again. Gauden had also a very great tenderness for his own reputation. So far did he carry this, that Dr. Walker tells us, there was one chapter which he did not write, upon a subject which it

[1] "I was persuaded by those that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe, than what seemed just; preferring the outward peace of my kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of conscience before God.

"And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on my part, (for plenary consent it was not,) to his destruction, whom, in my judgment, I thought not, by any clear law, guilty of death; that I never bare any touch of conscience with greater regret: which, as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed, both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man than of God; whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniencies of state by acts of so high injustice as no public convenience can expiate or compensate." Chap. ii.

Again: with respect to Episcopacy. "If any shall impute my yielding to them, as my failing and sin, I can easily acknowledge it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse, I being now more convinced in that point. Nor, indeed, hath my yielding to them been so happy and successful as to encourage me to grant the like to others." Chap. xvii. Indeed, in another place, we have both these topics, adverted to as matters of confession, and repentance, under the King's own hand: and so, this introduction of them into the *Icón*, is natural and appropriate. But, then, the quotation is from a document which could not get into Gauden's hands, till after the *Icón* was printed; being one of the Prayers delivered by the King, to Bishop Juxon, on the scaffold.—"For, was it through ignorance, that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of justice? or, that I permitted a wrong way of Thy worship to be set up in Scotland? O, no; but with shame and grief I confess, that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the dictates of a right-informed conscience."

was not likely he would chuse to meddle with; and another, which he did write, and therefore it was written with a peculiar tenderness: the first, on the *Covenant*, because he had himself taken it; the second, on the *Book of Common Prayer*, because he had relinquished the use of it. He had, I say, an abundant solicitude about his own character: and I doubt, therefore, very much whether there are not many passages pressing too home upon his known sentiments, his party and friends, for him to have entertained in thought; or, thinking, to have given utterance to.

Yet once more. Some things we *must* suppose there are, at which even the conscience of a forger may be thought capable of starting. Notwithstanding his avowed design, I almost doubt whether Gauden could have found words to express such a sentiment as the following.—" I can more willingly lose my crown, than my credit: nor are my kingdoms so dear to me, as my reputation and honour. Those must have a period with my life: but these may survive to a glorious kind of immortality, when I am dead and gone: a good name being the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an eternity of love and gratitude among posterity." Chap. xv.

How could this be: how could they so survive; if this act of Gauden, and the King's share in it should ever come to be detected? But, even this sentiment, (to glance shortly at another species of argument,) we can prove to have been Charles's; and can produce

it from a private letter of his, which never could be seen by Gauden. "But, when I consider, that not only now my crown, but my reputation for ever, lies at stake, I must rather suffer the first, that time will help, than this last, which is irreparable[2]."

Take again another sentence, for a similar purpose. "As good *ends* cannot justify evil *means*, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions, unless God, by a miracle of mercy, create light out of darkness, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions." If Gauden wrote this, he is *self-condemned*. His whole undertaking is built upon opposite principles. He must have been capable of starting at something. And this again, (Gauden, I fear, was brought up too much in a different school,) this again I can shew, was the sentiment of the King, and in a letter never seen by Gauden.

"So that, if Episcopacy were to be introduced by this, I would not do it: because I am as much bound in conscience to do no act to the destruction of monarchy, as to resist heresy; all actions being unlawful, *where the means are not* lawful, *let the end be never so* just. I conclude this with conjuring thee, that thou never abandon one particular *good friend* of ours, which is a *good cause;* let the Scots prove never so false; even as thou loves him who is eternally thine[3]."

But let us not be exposed to the charge of insisting too much on particulars like these. Let them

[2] Burnet's *Life of Hamilton*. P. 55.

[3] Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. II. P. 313. Newcastle, December 19, 1646.

be merely the felicitous touches of the skilful and dexterous hand of a master, who having once made up his mind to chuse the bad part, will be checked in his career by no timid scruples; nor deterred by any the most glaring self-contradictions.

I now, therefore, turn to ask another question. If the book were written at the late period, at which it must have been written, to be the work of Gauden; if it were written, (as *they* say,) for *publication*, and not for *use:* and if one chief aim in its publication was to save the life of the King,—how comes it, that out of eight-and-twenty chapters, two only, or three at the most, relate to those portions of the King's history, when his life could be said to be in any danger, (except by the sword): or how comes it, that not more than two or three treat of events which occurred within the last year and a half of the life of the King; and not more appear to have been even written, within that distance of time from his murder; in which, however, the whole book must certainly have been written, if it was the work of Gauden? From considerations of a like nature, to me it is very extraordinary, that a man, writing at the time, and with the designs upon which Gauden must have written, should come to touch at all, or at least, should treat at that length, upon such topics, (so long gone by,) as the argument of Chapter viii., *(Upon his Majesty's Repulse at Hull; and the Fates of the Hothams;)* or that of Chapter xviii., *(The Uxbridge Treaty;)* and several others. And it is extraordinary again, how, in the time prescribed, Gau-

den, without premeditation and exercise; having to become, as it were, *a little child;* having to build himself up into *a new man*, could collect the materials to write upon so many different subjects, spread over a space of six or eight years, and yet preserve, with no confusion, no mistake, with not the slightest chronological, or other flaw or failure, the most entire consistency and harmony of the parts one among another, and with the history and records of the times. This I maintain, is the case: and, if it be not, then let it be shewn.—I cannot shew it.—If I could, I would do so.

But, if possible, let all these points have been fully secured. Let us suppose these numberless insuperable dangers happily surmounted; and not one false step to have been made, where there could not but have been thousands; still the hazards would not be over. Even after the publication, a world of dangers would environ the book and its author. Had the work been Gauden's, I verily believe that he himself would have *betrayed* that it was so *after the publication*, without waiting for twelve years to elapse; and that, either (1.) *accidentally*, or (2.) *designedly*.

Gauden's character, if I mistake not, is very strongly marked. Two of his predominant passions were vain-glory and ambition: and another was the lust of money; or rather, perhaps, of the power of spending it. Wherever we meet him, we see the most disgusting proofs, how full he is of himself. Now, it is well known, that the *Icón Basilikè* pro-

duced very extraordinary effects. Gauden himself has described them, in one of his letters to Lord Clarendon. "When it came out, just upon the King's death, Good God," says he, "what shame, rage, and despite filled his murderers! What comfort his friends! How many enemies did it convert! How many hearts did it mollify and melt! What devotions it raised to his posterity, as children of such a father!.... Your Lordship, and all good subjects, with his Majesty, enjoy the real, and now ripe fruits of that plant; O, let me not wither, who was the author, and ventured wife, children, estate, liberty, life, *and all but my soul*," (but *why not his soul*; unless it be that the *end* sanctifies the *means*, which is contrary to the doctrine of the *Icón*?) "in so great an achievement, which hath filled England and all the world with the glory of it." Could this man have personated the King, and have witnessed these consequences of his achievement, and have seen his book translated into all languages, and pass through fifty editions in a year, and never betray it? I believe the thing to be impossible. No more would he have been able to conceal himself, than Satan could hide his furious passions from the Archangel's eye, when he had assumed the garb of an angel of light. I have already mentioned, that I believe Gauden has never once quoted the *Icón Basilikè*, till after the Restoration; and that, though his works, in the interval, were numerous and extensive, he has dwelt very little upon the King, and the King's affairs. Yet he treats, (for instance, in

his *Hieraspistes* and *Suspiria,*) of several of the same topics, which are handled in the *Icón?* How is it, that he does not fall into the same trains of thought, or turns of expression, which he had so admirably adopted there! I do not see that this is the case. I cannot find that he has *repeated* himself. Nay, I do not discern any very apparent signs, in those works, that he had even ever *read* the *Icón Basilikè;* (though we know there is good reason to believe that he once *transcribed* it;) much less does he shew, that he might probably have been *its author.* Yet had that been so, had it been possible that Gauden should have written the work, I do think there are the greatest probabilities that he would *inadvertently* have betrayed himself: or, if not inadvertently,—that he would have disclosed it *designedly.*

Prevailing passions in Gauden's breast, as I have intimated, were ambition and ostentation. Notwithstanding, what he says, *after* the Restoration of the Royal Family, in favour of his invariable loyalty, there is proof enough extant, that Gauden was not backward in endeavours to recommend himself to Oliver Cromwell, the Protector. Of this kind I consider his Letters to Oliver Cromwell's Almoner, (Dr. Nicholas Bernard,) given in the Thurloe Papers[4]. Johnson has animadverted on Milton's courtly flatteries of the Usurper. But I doubt whether in any of them can be found a pas-

[4] Vol. V. p. 597—601.

passage surpassing in grossness an allusion of Gauden's. He refers to Cromwell, as one who "supports heaven; which," says he, "is the work only of a mighty and invincible Atlas[5]." Now, we know what endeavours Cromwell made to convict the *Icón Basilikè* of forgery. I put it to any one, whether it be probable, that Gauden could have withstood the temptation of securing the Usurper's affections for ever. He, who being already a Bishop, made no scruple to wound the feelings of his Sovereign, and the Royal Family, by revealing their father's shame, and to endanger his reputation for ever,—merely because he saw himself "not so much considered in his present disposure at Exeter, as he hoped he should have been," would he have forborne to avail himself of his secret, if he *then* had one; and thus to place himself at the very head of the Commonwealth-Divines, ready for any scheme of Church-government that might offer? Cromwell, it is well known, had it in his thoughts, with the view of giving some share of stability to his government, to restore Episcopacy. Gauden advises him to do so: and almost in the same breath, this same Gauden, in the true spirit of the pretended "*Nolo episcopari*," says, "towards which dignity, I never was, nor am an ambitious aspirer[6]."

These, my Lord, are some of the *antecedent* presumptions, and *inherent* improbabilities, which con-

[5] *Christ at the Wedding.* 4to. 1654. P. 5.
[6] *Hieraspistes.* 1653. 4to. P. 561.

firm me, from *internal* evidence, in the belief that the book is none of Gauden's.

His friends, however, if we will be content to be led by them, will assure us, that our notions are unfounded; that the truth is quite otherwise; that there are *antecedent presumptions*, and *internal probabilities* for the work being Gauden's, and *internal improbabilities* that it should be the King's.

Our main Champion here is Dr. Walker. I do not perceive, indeed, that the reasonings in which we have been lately occupied have entered at all into his contemplation; much less has he furnished us with any satisfactory explanation of them. His *arguments*, such as they are, have been already adduced at full length, in the margin of the preceding letter: (p. 27, 28.) and my observations *in reply* shall be as short as possible. Indeed, I am almost ashamed of taking up your Grace's time, and my own, on sophisms so unsubstantial; nor should I do it, had I not rather incur the charge of being tedious, than that it should be remarked I have left one entire division of the Adversaries' arguments unnoticed, with a possibility of the insinuation being added, that this may be, because I could not reply to them.

1. Referring therefore to my former Letter, for the arguments themselves, on the *first*, I shall content myself with two remarks. I ask then, Can we have no consistency whatever, on this side of our disputation? How is it that Walker's theory of Gauden's *motives* for writing the Book, should be so different

from that of the Bishop himself, and of Mrs. Gauden?—Were there any so great proofs of an *excessive* loyalty, a "*contrary extreme*," in an endeavour to save the life of his Sovereign, and to rescue his reputation from falsehood and obloquy?—But, in truth, the *basis* also of this argument has no solidity. It is a mistake that Gauden went into the *contrary extreme*. He never did so; never, I mean, till a time which is nothing to the purpose; till *at*, and *after* the Restoration; when he had special and pressing reasons for his change. Instead, therefore, of helping his cause, by this hypothesis, Dr. Walker has absolutely deprived the Book of *any foundation for its existence*, as respects Dr. Gauden.

2. For the *second* argument, that which bears upon the subject of the *Covenant*, all I would desire is, that the Chapter in question should first be read. Then, let it be compared with one single letter of the King's, in Burnet's *Life of Hamilton*[7], never seen by Dr. Gauden. These steps being taken, I venture to say, any one will be satisfied, that the frivolous speculation, spun-out of Gauden taking the Covenant, (a circumstance, by the way, which, many think, is positively denied by the Bishop himself; and then, *if so denied*, and *truly* denied, what again becomes of the basis of Walker's argument?) but, without this, let that have been done, which I have pointed out, and I am persuaded, that Walker's speculation) must be thrown to the winds; for, the Letter and

[7] P. 286.

the Chapter will be found so entirely in harmony, that the latter, so far from furnishing any argument *against*, will supply very strong reasons *for*, the Book being the King's.

3. The *third* and *fifth* of Walker's arguments may be classed together. I have already shewn, at large, (p. 155—8.) that the *premises* of both are false; and the *conclusions*, therefore, are *naught*.

4. The other remaining argument, that respecting the *devotional expressions*, at first sight, shews somewhat more speciously. And, accordingly, we find, it is retained to this day, (for example, if I remember right, by Mr. Laing), when occasion requires, that as passable a muster as may be, should be brought together against the King. But, assuredly, the slightest possible *second* thought will shew, that no stress whatever can be laid upon such reasoning. In the first place, I discern, for my part, no such "*modes of expression*," no such "*peculiar phrases*," as "might not have been heard from another man;" none, I am sure, which are like Gauden's peculiarities; and none which are not every way suitable to all that we can learn of the King. Hence, I do not consent to Dr. Walker's *premises;* and, where then, is their proof? Why has he not given us one or two *examples?* one or two instances, by way of *specimen* of his *meaning;* and that we might have had an opportunity of forming some judgment for ourselves, of the reasonableness of his remark? Was it, perhaps, that, when the specimens were called for, they made no answer?

Did he forbear to cite them by name, fearing lest haply the reply should be of the kind which the Author of Εἰκὼν ἡ πιστὴ has noticed on another occasion;

O! Such an one might say, "It is not I."

In the total absence of this obvious and necessary confirmation, it is impossible that we can let this argument pass for any thing. And especially, when we have this further question to put, "Why, if Dr. Walker chose to appeal to *internal* evidence, did he not derive his proofs from some of the acknowledged numerous and extensive writings of Dr. Gauden, still extant? Why send us to the *extemporary* prayers, which are vanished into thin air; and probably, had at the time of his referring to them, been heard by no man living but himself; and be totally silent respecting that durable evidence, which was quite as likely to have existence as the other, and the conviction from which would have been available to all future generations?" So much for Dr. Walker.

As for Bradshaw's reasoning from the *internal* evidence, "How could so bad a Man write so good a Book?" I have said enough upon that line of argument already. Or, if this had been otherwise, we might sufficiently meet it all, by a single compendious observation of Lord Clarendon. In a work intended only for the information of his children, speaking of himself he tells us, "Mr. Hyde had a very particular devotion and passion for the person of the

King; and did believe him *the most, and the best Christian in the world* [8]."

The remark of Archbishop Herring requires a more respectful notice.

He, we learn, "thought the book more in character with the functions of *a Priest*, than of *a King*." Happily, it contains delightful traits of both characters; that venerable union of the old time, when the two sacred offices were combined in the same person. But, I will not contend: Be it that the former character is somewhat too largely indicated. Yet, I cannot concur with the Archbishop, if *that* was any part of his reasons for deeming the book not the work of the King. Had his Grace forgotten, that even when Charles was a boy, so much of a sacred scholar was he, that his elder brother Henry, in their childish sport, placed a square cap upon his head, and saluted him, 'My Lord's Grace of Canterbury?' It is, I presume, because the book enlarges so much upon Church-government, and the Liturgy, that the Archbishop formed the judgment which he expresses, respecting it. But these in truth, are good reasons *for* the book being the King's, and not for *the contrary*. Dr. Holdsworth, one of his Chaplains, himself an eminent theologian, Head of a College, and a Professor of Divinity in this University, told Sir Philip Warwick, "that he had been as much enlightened in Church-affairs, by the King himself, as by any of

[8] *Life of Clarendon*. P. 49.

the books he ever had read [9]." And with respect to the particular question of Church-government, has not Lord Clarendon informed us, that "the King was always *forward to enlarge* upon that subject, in which he was so well versed [1];" "mentioning those reasons which the ablest Prelate could do, upon such occasions [2]?"—Then, for the Liturgy, it will be sufficient to refer to the reply which was given by the author of *The Faithful Portraiture*, to a like observation, when the book was first published. "You needed not to have told us that *the Doctor* was in *his own element* here: for, that element was no man's, more than the King's. No Doctor in England ever used the Book of Common Prayer more than did King Charles, who wrote these Meditations *upon the Ordinance that was against that Book* [3]." In fact, the King's own confession, or rather his justification of himself, for this practice, is the best proof, that the liability of the *Icón* to the Archbishop's imputation, affords a strong presumption that the book is his, and not the contrary. "If we would have played the *Politician*," says the King, in his admirable letter to his son, "and not the *Christian*, we should have studied *popular topics*, not arguments of this nature [4]."

But there is one piece of reasoning, connected with

[9] *Memoirs*. P. 89.
[1] *Life of Clarendon*. P. 82.
[2] Ibid. P. 81.
[3] Εικων η πιστη. 4to. 1649. P. 61.
[4] Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. II. P 448.

the *internal* evidence, which at the first appearance, may seem to be of a much more substantial kind.

This argument we derive from Mrs. Gauden. It is founded upon two passages of her Narrative; and as they agree in the *end* to which they are designed to lead, we may take them together.

"These considerations made him" (Dr. Gauden) "go to his Majesty" (King Charles II.), "and having the opportunity of conversing privately with him, he told him the whole matter as I have related it: and for the truth of it appealed to Dr. Duppa, then Bishop of Winchester, and formerly his Majesty's tutor. The King then was pleased to entertain some discourse with my husband about it, and said, *that he did often wonder, how his Father should have gotten time and privacy enough in his troubles, to compose so excellent a piece*, and written with so much learning."

Again:

"When the Book was come out, they who were then in power, were not only extremely displeased at it, but also infinitely solicitous to find out the Author of it, thinking it *very improbable that his Majesty should write it*, in regard to the great *disturbances* and *troubles* which for many years he had suffered; or, at least, *impossible that he should have writ it at all;* for, after the attendance of his Chaplains was denied him, and he a close prisoner, *they well understood* that he could not write any thing, *without their discovery*[s]."

Thus, my Lord, we have two distinct improbabilities, that the work should be the King's; one so

[s] Let us take here a slight specimen of Mr. Toland. The passage contains the strength and substance of *his* argument against the King from *internal evidence*.

"One of Milton's sagacity could not but perceive by the composition, stile, and timing of this Book, that it was rather the production of some idle Clergyman, than the work of a distressed Prince, either in perpetual hurry at the head of a flying army, or removed from one prison to another during his unfortunate captivity till his death. Besides the theological phrases frequently interspersed, there are such fanciful allusions and bold comments in it upon the secret judgments of God, as smell rankly of a System or the Pulpit." *Life of Milton.* P. 70.

strong, that the word *impossibility* is resorted to for expressing it adequately.

First, then with respect to this alleged "surprise" of Charles II., and this "certain knowledge" of the Parliament about the King's want of opportunities for *privacy*, and the *impossibility of his writing any thing without their discovery*. Do the *testimonies* which we had before us, in my former letter, of the most authentic kind, and in that great abundance, confirm these surmises, or refute them altogether? But, to let that pass. Could Charles II. be ignorant of, or have forgotten the vast number of long letters, which the King, even during the depths of his severest troubles, found *privacy* enough to write, and *opportunity to send*, to his Queen, and her Counsellors, and occasionally to the Prince himself: as is abundantly certain from the extensive remains of them still extant in the Clarendon papers? How then can this argument have any weight with us? For, if King Charles II. expressed himself as Mrs. Gauden says he did, it was nothing but the mistake and ignorance of the son: if excusable at all, only to be forgiven him, in consideration of his long separation and exile from his Father. It is much more probable than this, however, that King Charles II. did not say what Mrs. Gauden ascribes to him.

"After the attendance of his Chaplains was denied him, and he a close prisoner, *they well understood* that he could not write any thing *without their discovery*." How comes Mrs. Gauden to be so fully in possession of the workings of mind of this "Rebellious

Party," this dark conclave of Conspirators and Usurpers? But, were these really *their* thoughts; or, were they they not the thoughts merely of her husband, Dr. Gauden? The Rebellious Party knew a great deal better. For, in truth, this is all mistake. It was no such thing. The multitude of Letters still extant, written from Newcastle, where the King had neither Chaplain nor any to help him, are decisive evidence that he *could write*, and *did write* a great deal, *without their discovery*. Again: how does the truth stand, with respect to *another* important period, when "*the attendance of his Chaplains was denied him*," the imprisonment at Carisbroke Castle? I might bring *many* evidences to this point; but I will trouble your Grace with only one.

"My first endeavour, after my arrival," (that is, at Carisbroke) "was how to give his Majesty an account of business, and to put into his hands safely those Letters I had for him; for, there were spies continually upon him. To which purpose, I found out a very convenient and private place in his bed-chamber, where I left the papers; of which I gave him an account that night by putting a note into his hand, as he was preparing to go to bed: which papers he found.

"And the next morning, after his retirement at his private devotions, of which he never failed, I found *his* Paper in the same place; by which his Majesty was pleased to express his satisfaction in what I had done, and what he had received; and directed the continuance of that place and way for converse; which we made use of, (for we had no better), *for many weeks*. I had settled a very good way of correspondence with his Majesty's friends at London, having two men, very faithful and unsuspected, constantly going and coming, by which means his Majesty never wanted good intelligence from the Queen, *the Prince*, and many of his Friends, even in the time when those cursed votes of "*No more Addresses*" took place: for, I gave

him *Several Dispatches every week;* and conveyed his safely away; not one at any time miscarrying, which was an infinite blessing of God on my endeavours[6]."

And, that we may understand, that all this did not proceed without the King's enemies, at least suspecting what was going on, we need only take a short passage from the same communication.—"But, before we could effect our designs, a letter came from Derby-House to Hammond, to direct him to have a careful eye on those about the King; for that they discovered, there were some that gave him intelligence[7]." The King, therefore, both *could* write, and did write many things, *without the discovery of those in power:* and they knew that he did so. All which is directly contrary, both to the *assertion*, and to the *argument* of Mrs. Gauden.

But though the King had *not* possessed these opportunities of *privacy*, and of *preserving* and *transmitting* his *communications*, is it certain, that his enemies would have been so barbarous, as not to have *spared* a Book of *Private Devotions?* There *were* occasions, I believe, when they would not have spared them: though, doubtless, cruelty to that degree of enormity could not be persisted in for a continuance; but must have had its intervals and breathing-times. Hence, therefore, in perfect consistency with the *probabilities* of the case, our *testimonies*, when they

[6] Letter from Mr. Henry Firebrace to Sir George Lane, Secretary to the Duke of Ormond, dated White-Hall, July 21, 1675, in Herbert's, &c. *Memoirs*. 8vo. 1702. P. 187.

[7] Ibid. P. 193. All this is abundantly confirmed by the Derby-House *Letters*, published by Dr. Birch, in the year 1764.

refer to the *special* seasons of the Power of Darkness, tell us of the *concealment* of Papers behind the Arras; of the Waist-coat, where the King for safety occasionally kept the Book, next his heart; and of the personal struggle, which took place between Hammond and him; on which occasion, it was said, that the King struck Hammond, and that Hammond struck the King; though this latter circumstance, Hammond afterwards solemnly denied. The fact, however, of his search for Papers, at this time, is certain. The account also tells us, that "Hammond went readily to the King's Cabinet, and searched it, but found not such Papers as he looked for; and then he endeavoured to search the King's *pockets;* but his Majesty resisted[8]." He found not *such Papers* (we see), as he expected. May not this imply, that *some* Papers he *did* find? And accordingly, in perfect correspondence with this independent authority, are we not told by our testimonies, that Hammond himself affirmed, he *then and there* found the *Icón Basilikè?* The *volume*, indeed, escaped, or was restored. Perhaps it might escape by the personal resistance of the King. But, "*many sheets of the rough draught of that book, in the King's own hand-writing*," were then discovered: and these were not restored, "*These*" (said Hammond) "*I have at this time by me.*"

Therefore, my Lord, is there not the strongest reason for suspecting, that what was said by Mrs. Gauden, both of King Charles II. and of "the Re-

[8] *Clarendon Papers.* Vol. II. P. xlvi. Appendix.

bellious Party previously in power," was not in truth their thoughts and sayings; but merely the surmises, the mistake and ignorance, of Mrs. Gauden; or, more properly, of her husband: for, there can be no doubt, but that, in both cases, she speaks as he had instructed her? If, therefore, Gauden himself thought, and said those things, which have been attributed to the Parties just mentioned, what will follow, but that these pretended probable arguments against the King's right to the Book, are so far from establishing their point, that they turn out to be most convincing proofs that Gauden himself could not be the Author of *Icón Basilikè;* that he was not master of the historical truth, the degree of knowledge respecting the King, indispensably requisite to the successful performance of the work?

Thus we have seen, on how sandy a foundation, both in *fact* and *argument, one* of Mrs. Gauden's reasons for the improbability of the King's being the Author stands. Let us next consider *the other;* his alleged *want of leisure, "to compose so excellent a piece."*

Again, I ask, how is this notion borne out by the unvarying strain and tenor of the historical testimonies which I have cited? How does it agree with the King's regular hours for retirement and devotion, never omitted, and never violated; and of his writing and study, early and late? "I being in the room," (says Sir Philip Warwick) "he beckoned me, and shewed me in the street an old little crumpling man, and said, "that was the best companion I had for

three months together, at Carisbroke Castle." What great *want of leisure* does such a condition as this imply? At times, no doubt, the King was busy enough. But even then, not so busy, that he would not *find*, or *make* time, to write to his dear Friends, and to commune with his only remaining, never absent Friend, his God.

It is impossible that Charles II. could have been so ignorant of the actual circumstances, the employments, and the habits of his Father, as the words put into his mouth by the Gaudens imply. He had been not without grounds for knowing a great deal better. For instance, could he have forgotten the Letter to himself written by his Father from Newport, two months only before his murder: of which Letter Lord Clarendon has thus spoken?

"The King had begun a Letter to the Prince, his son, before the first forty days were expired; and continued it, as the treaty was lengthened, even to the hour it was concluded; and finished it the nine and twentieth of November, after the Commissioners were departed: and with it he sent a very exact copy of all the Papers which had passed in the treaty, in the order in which they were passed, fairly engrossed by one of the Clerks who attended. But, the Letter itself *was all in his own hand*, and contained above six sheets of paper, in which he made a very particular relation of all the motives and reasons which had prevailed with him, or over him, to make those concessions: out *of which most of this relation is extracted*[9]."

The conclusion of this Letter the noble Historian has cited at length; "deserving," as he says, "to be preserved in letters of gold; and giving the best

[9] *Hist. of Rebellion.* Vol. III. P. 345.

character of that excellent Prince." This letter fills nearly thirty folio pages of the Clarendon Papers, and was written, (in which view it is a very wonderful performance) in the evenings and nights, of a treaty carried on day by day, morning and afternoon, without interruption, and in which the King had to contend single-handed, with the whole band of the thirteen Parliament Commissioners [1].

These false notions, then, of the *certainty of discovery*, of the *want of leisure*, and consequently, of the absence of opportunity and means for the King to write the *Icón Basilikè*, might reasonably enough be, as they no doubt *were*, the genuine and real notions of the family of the Gaudens, (because they *were*, and there was sufficient ground for their being, the vulgar and popular notions), and, therefore, if *they* were so inclined, these several circumstances would appear to open an easy way, and to furnish tempting means, for bringing forward a claim, and for supporting the claim, to that which they were already persuaded might not be, or could not be the King's; and especially, when now twelve years had gone by, and no rightful owner had appeared. This, I say, is very possible. But, how Gauden could write about the King; write a whole volume in his name and person, and speak in his language, and yet the work escape detection, when he was so deplorably wanting in all the requisites—*so* ignorant and *so* misinformed, of his real condition and circumstances, in points, by

[1] *Warwick's Memoirs.* P. 325.

no means of a particularly recondite nature,—this, I own, is more than I can understand, or can believe!

But, there is another fact, and very distinct from the former, which I must connect with these statements of Mrs. Gauden; and which is more difficult to account for still.—How, I ask, could this pretended writer entertain these erroneous conceptions of the condition of the King, and yet write a book which contains the true and opposite notions?

"The solitude and captivity to which I am now reduced," says this alleged fictitious Monarch, referring to his durance at Holdenby, "gives me *leisure* enough to study the world's vanity and inconstancy [2]." And again, at another of his places of imprisonment, Carisbroke Castle; "*As I have leisure enough*, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for my death: for, I know, there are but few steps between the prisons and graves of Princes [3]:" and, referring to the *advantage* which he had enjoyed, for composing this very book, we find that he actually ascribes it to the *leisure*, which his *troubles* had afforded him: and, to make it every way incredible that Charles the Second should have said what is imputed to him, this is done in a chapter expressly and solemnly addressed to himself.—"To the Prince of Wales." "It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I find my *leisure* and *solitude* have produced something worthy of myself, and useful to you." So far, therefore, from having written the *Icón*, the

[2] Chap. XXIII.
[3] Chap. XXVIII.

Gaudens do not appear even to have known, or cared to know what it contains.

But, what is more, and puts us forward still another step in our argument, this book, *at other times*, it is observable, speaks a very *different* language. Thus: "I have *scarce leisure* to consider those swarms of reproaches which issue out of some men's mouths and hearts, as easily as smoke or sparks do out of a furnace; much less to make such prolix apologies as might give those men satisfaction, who conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loth to believe any man not to be as bad as themselves[4]." And again: "My patience, I thank God, will better serve me to bear, and my charity to forgive, than my *leisure* to answer the many false aspersions which some men have cast upon me[5]." How, then, my Lord, is this difference to be accounted for? A forger would have been careful to avoid any such seeming inconsistencies. The easy and true solution is, that this writer well knew the condition, the *varying* condition of the King: and, in both these places, last cited, writing *of*, and, I doubt not, writing *at* earlier periods, (long before it is even pretended that Gauden thought of setting about the work,) he preserves, therefore, the strict decorum of the fact, and of the time. And what wonder, indeed, for this writer was the King?

And therefore again: in still further confirmation of my present train of argument, I will appeal to the unquestionable language of *the King himself;* to pri-

[4] Chap. XII.
[5] Chap. XV.

vate letters, or other documents, relating to *both* periods; and speaking, in one case, of *leisure*, and in the other of the *want* of it; agreeably to his varying circumstances, and in exact correspondence, with that varying language which I have cited from the different chapters of the *Icón*. The letters, too, are some of them such as Charles the Second very probably might have seen; while Gauden certainly could know nothing of any of them. And therefore, as the Bishop's mistake or ignorance ought not to be greatly wondered at; so that of the King, if we could believe he was guilty of it, would become still more inexcusable than before.

First: with respect to the *want of leisure*. The two chapters, (the twelfth and fifteenth,) which I referred to, when speaking of *this* condition of the King, were written, I doubt not, (I argue from the *internal* evidence,) the latter at Newcastle, and the former at an earlier period; perhaps at Oxford, not long after the battle of Naseby. Now, his Majesty, in a letter to the Lords Jermyn and Culpeper, and Mr. John Ashburnham, then the Queen's advisers at Paris, dated Newcastle, August 19, 1646, thus expresses himself: "Thus in my harsh, brief way, *not having time* to make large discourses," (your Grace, I am persuaded, will recognize here a striking resemblance to the words of the *Icón*, 'not having leisure to make such prolix apologies,') "I do my endeavour to make your judgments concur with mine in this particular, as they do in all the rest[6]."

[6] Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. II. P. 248. See also in two other letters from the same place, P. 255 and 260.

Again, in another letter, among the Hamilton Papers, dated from the same place, Sept. 26, 1646.

"HAMILTON,

"I HAVE so much to write, and *so little time* for it, that this letter will be *suitable to the times*, without method or reason: and yet you will find lusty truths in it, which puts me again *out of fashion*; but the fitter for him to whom I write[7]."

With respect to his other condition—of *leisure*—the *Icón* speaks of that, in those chapters only which purport to have been written at Holdenby, and in the Isle of Wight. Those were times when the King was neither permitted to send, nor to receive letters. And therefore it is less to be wondered at, that I am not able to allege express testimonies from such parts of his private correspondence as are still extant. But, the nature of the case, and the tenor of several historical passages already cited, conspire to satisfy us, that there were seasons especially propitious to his solitary contemplations. "The letters from the Isle of Wight," says Rushworth, "certify, that his Majesty is in good health, though solitary; and spends much time in retirement[8]." He excused himself for not having communicated with the Parliament, desiring them,

"To take notice, that his long silence proceeded, not from a dull stupid laziness, or his being insensible of his own, or the kingdom's condition; but from the incapacity that had been put upon him by their own votes. Hence, his sad condition, now above these seven months. And truly," says he, "my present condition is such, that I can no more treat than a blind man judge of colours; or one run

[7] Burnet's *Life of Hamilton*. P. 269. See also from the same place, P. 295 and 305.

[8] Vol. VIII. P. 926. See also P. 960.

a race, who hath both his feet tied fast together: wherefore my first necessary demand is, that you will recall all such votes and orders, by which people are frightened from coming, writing, or speaking freely to me[h]."

And from the other place of his retreat, Holdenby, he addresses the Parliament, in terms of a similar import.

"Yet, considering his condition, that his servants are denied access to him, all but very few, and those by appointment, not his own election; and that it is a declared crime for any but the commissioners, or such who are particularly permitted by them, to converse with him; or, that any letters should be given to, or received from him, may he not truly say, that he is not in a case fit to make concessions, or give answers; since he is not master of those ordinary actions which are the undoubted rights of any free-born man, how mean soever his birth be[i]?"

And now, my Lord, what is the result of our observations upon that which when we first approached it, presented the most specious appearance, by far, of all the presumptions from *internal* evidence, which have been alleged *against* the King, and consequently *for* Gauden? For my own part, I do not hesitate to declare, that, in my opinion, while, through the whole of this portion of our enquiry, nothing has arisen, but what tends to corroborate and establish the claim of the King; on the other hand, that of Gauden is shaken to its very foundations, by this last single argument. He is proved wanting in the indispensable information. And Mrs. Gauden has slain her husband, by the very weapon which she raised against the sacred person of her Sovereign.

[h] *Parliamentary History.* Vol. III. P. 990—991.
[i] *Parliamentary History.* Vol. III. P. 577.

And thus, in fine[2],—to close this part of the argument, all the pretences which have been alleged on the adversaries' side, *against* Charles, or *for* Gauden, as deduced from the *internal* evidence, we have shewn are of no avail; except to establish conclusions the very reverse of those for which they are brought forward.

Upon the whole, therefore, whether we look at *the antecedent presumptions;* the *internal probabilities* in the work itself; the *subsequent* probabilities of *detec-*

[2] Considering Mr. Laing, partial and uncandid as he is, to be the ablest writer that has yet appeared against the claim of the King, and in favor of that of Gauden, I think it right to subjoin in this place what he has said on the subject of the *internal evidence*.

"The *authorities* (the *external* evidences) appeared to be so strong, or so equally balanced, that the Royalists had recourse to the more fallacious criterion of composition and stile. There, however, the *internal* evidence was alike inconclusive. The language at least and remarks, if not the secrets, of a statesman were to be expected in the genuine reflections of a Monarch, written upon each political event that occurred. Like the spurious political legacies, however, of other statesmen, the *Icón Basilikè* contained nothing beyond the familiar meditations, and the limited observations of a Court-Divine: and, if more chaste and correct than Gauden's, the style appeared, when impartially examined, to be far more elegant and diffusive than that of the King. Such was the state of this acrimonious controversy, till the publication of the Clarendon Papers."—Thus far in the text. In a note subjoined he resumes and finishes the argument, thus:

"Whoever peruses Gauden's Life of Hooker, and the dedication prefixed, will find a command of language, periods nicely balanced, frequently antithetical, and a style disfigured by a capricious affectation of wit and imagery; but flowing and oratorical beyond the age. Imagery such as Gauden's is not wanting in the *Icón:* and his attempt to disguise and retrench his exuberance would reduce it naturally to a chaste and temperate style, which his taste and genius, unrestrained by the necessity of disguise, would never have inspired. But the compositions of Charles are either harsh and abrupt like his letters; or succinct and irregular like his controversy with Henderson, and his messages from the Isle of Wight, the only certain productions of his pen. It is equally difficult to conceive that such a style should be elevated occasionally to that of the *Icón;* or that his accustomed eloquence, in his transition from occasional Meditations, to more important Dispatches, should desert his pen." *Hist. of Scotland.* Vol. III. Book V. Had Mr. Laing attempted to establish any one of these positions by *evidence* or *argument*, I should not have quitted him, as I now do, without further notice.

tion, after publication; or, finally, to the pretended *internal arguments*, alleged by his friends; I see no likelihood, whatever, that the book was Gauden's: but altogether, and to the highest possible degree, the contrary. It is now time, therefore, that we should return to the King.

We had ascertained in what manner Charles was wont to be occupied. We found him, and we left him employed in some such way as he *must* have been, if he were the author of *Icón Basilikè*. A book has been put into our hands, which purports to be the very fruit of those labours and meditations. The time is come that we must open this book; and endeavour to form our judgments accordingly.

"No gentleman in his three nations," says Sir Philip Warwick, "though there were many more learned, (for I have supposed him but competently *learned*, though eminently *rational*,) better understood the foundations of his own Church, and the grounds of the Reformation, than he did.....And, therefore, though I cannot say, I *know* that he wrote his *Icón Basilikè*, or *Image*, which goes under his own name; yet I can say, I have heard him, even to my unworthy self, say *many of those things it contains*[1]."—"I was bred up," says Bishop Burnet, "with a high veneration of this book: and I remember, that when I heard how some denied it to be his, I asked the Earl of Lothian about it, who both knew the King very well, and loved him little. He

[1] *Memoirs*. P. 68.

seemed confident it was his own work: for, he said, *he had heard him say a great many of those very periods that are found* in that book[4]."

One of these persons was a most bitter enemy of the King: the other, such a friend as to say, "When I think of dying, it is one of my comforts, that when I part from this world, I shall meet King Charles, and all those faithful spirits, that had virtue enough to be true to him, the Church, and the Laws, unto the last[5]." But, enemy or friend, we see they agree in their impressions of this book. By some means or other, it contains, they are persuaded, the sentiments, and the very words of the King. Where there was this conviction, no other argument would be needed. And the knowledge that such persons felt in this manner, assuredly cannot be without its weight upon *us*. Who else but the King could be the author, when very competent and intelligent contemporaries made declarations of the nature in question, even *after* they knew, and *because* they knew, that the genuineness of the book was disputed? Still more, how could Charles's thoughts and expressions find a place in the writings of a man, who had never heard the sound of his voice? Or, how can it be pretended, that the King might himself derive these passages from the book; a book, which (they tell us) it is not very clear he had ever seen; with which (by the same account) his acquaintance *must* have been slight, and of rather short continuance; and subsequent altogether to the

[4] *Own Times*. Vol. I. P. 60. 8vo.
[5] Warwick's *Memoirs*. P. 331.

existence of any intercourse between him and the Earl of Lothian?

I am now, therefore, disposed to enquire, whether there be any *Sayings* of the King, still extant? I have a curiosity to ask, whether *we* cannot even now be placed, in some slight degree, in the same predicament with Warwick and Lothian: whether we cannot hear him say some things to *our unworthy selves;* and so consider, whether we can discern any thing of that resemblance in mind and expression, of which, (in respect of other sayings, and other passages,) we are told. It would carry me too far, if I were to load this argument with comments and explanations. I must be content with barely producing the Sayings, and with giving those places of the *Icón,* which the Sayings have recalled to my own mind. Others must form what judgment they shall please.

(1.) "The treaty being begun at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, we did all hope for a happy conclusion thereof; his Majesty having granted whatsoever they could ask, saving his conscience, and *the damnation of his own soul,* which his Majesty *once told me,* he thought they aimed at." Mr. Henry Firebrace in Herbert's, &c. *Memoirs.* P. 195. edit. 1702.

(1.) *Icón B.* Chap. xvii. "But being daily, by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the reason and religion of that to which I am sworn, how can any man, that *wisheth not my damnation,* persuade me at once to so notorious and combined sins of sacrilege and perjury?"

Again. Chap. 24. "They that envy my being a King, are loth I should be a Christian. While they seek to deprive me of all things else, they are afraid I should *save my soul.*"

(2.) "He had neither the attendance of his own domestic servants, Chaplains, or Liturgy of the Church: under all which he very unconcernedly and majestically deported himself; as being *above complaints* or bewailings, as he himself was pleased *to tell me.*" Warwick's *Memoirs.* P. 297.

(2.) *Icón B.* Chap. xv. "They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects' liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints, against all laws, both divine and human: under which yet *I will rather perish, than complain,* to those who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such music."

I will add here another passage, from an undoubted work of the King, (never seen by Gauden,) his long letter to the Prince, in which the account is given of the Newport treaty.

"We avoided mentioning our own condition, (being *more exercised to suffer than to complain,* the one befitting our *mind,* the other our *condition*); but told them, *Something else we had to say,* which we would rather they would *understand,* than for us to *declare.*" Clarendon *Papers.* Vol. II. P. 443.

Here, my Lord, we have three distinct documents, a Saying of Charles, a Letter of his, and a Passage of the *Icón.*—Let us now try the effect of introducing into our sketch a trait or two of the undoubted mind of Dr. Gauden.

"If your Lordship," says he to Clarendon, "will not concern yourself in my affairs, (who can easily find ways to ease them, and by your repeated expressions invited me to repose myself on your care of my content,) I *must make* my last *complaint* to the King. And, if his Majesty have no regard for me, but leave me to deplore and perish, as neither a *considerable enemy* nor friend, I will yet retire to God, and my own conscience, where I have the treasure of

those thoughts which I am sure every one cannot own, who think themselves so much worthier than myself, whom they joy to see thus driven upon a banished and beggarly condition, while themselves swim with plenty." Clarendon *Papers*. Appendix, Vol. III. P. xxvii.

Again: in another letter to the same.

"No man *was* more happy, none *is* more distressed; and none, I think I may say it without vanity, hath less deserved to be thus reduced to the inconveniencies of life, *which compel me to complain*, yea to crave and beg of others that I may not be miserable." *Ibid.* P. xxxi.

(3.) "Some few things I remember he said .... About the latter end of the treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectual, "*I wish*," says he, "I had consulted nobody but my own self: for then, where in honor or conscience I could not have complied, I could have early been positive: for, with Job, I would willinglier have *chosen misery, than sin*." I never saw him shed tears but once, and he turned presently his head away." Warwick's *Memoirs*. P. 326.

(3.) *Icón B.* Chap. ix. "To which most sacrilegious and abhorred perjury, most unbecoming a Christian King, should I ever, by giving my consent be betrayed, I should account it infinitely greater *misery* than any hath or can befal me; inasmuch as the least *sin* hath more *evil* in it than the greatest *affliction*."

Again. *Icón B.* Chap. vi. "Make me willing to suffer the *greatest indignities* and *injuries* they press upon me; rather than commit the *least sin* against my conscience."

(4.) In producing the next passages, I may perhaps be thought (with my present avowed sentiments) a little adventurous. My quotation is from Gauden, and I give it, as much connected with, and strikingly illustrative of a place in the *Icón*.

"For, however differences at last were inflamed upon other accounts, in the procedure of the war, (which necessarily multi-

(4.) *Icón B.* Chap. xvii. "Nor was it any *policy of state*, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to *the men* or

plies offences on the conquered party,) yet certainly the main purpose and motion, first of the the Scots, and then of the English Presbyterians, was this, Destroy the Temples of Episcopacy, and set up the Synagogues of Presbytery. Which any politic Prince would speedily have done; at least when he saw so terrible a tempest in present pressing upon him, yea, and prevailing against him. What Prince was ever so in love with any Bishops or any Churchmen, as to love them better than himself? which in reason he could not, and in religion he ought not to do, nor would certainly have done so far as he did, if he had not had such persuasions deeply rooted in his *conscience*, of a justice, gratitude, and duty, he owed to God, to his Saviour, and to the Church, more *than to the persons* of a few Clergymen; which he solemnly avowed, as in God's presence, to Mr. Marshall, of Finchfield, in Essex, after a long conference at Newcastle, as I take it, had with him touching Episcopacy, *(as Mr. Marshall himself soon after told me;)* assuring him, and conjuring him to assure others of his Majesty's uprightness and resolvedness in this point of Episcopacy, as to *matter of conscience*, and *not of state, or policy*: else, in point of secular advantages, his own peace and preservation, the public tranquillity, the increase of his revenue by the confiscation of Bishops' and Cathedral lands, would have amounted to much more benefits than ever he or his would expect from a few Bishops, Deans, and Prebends." Gauden's *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Suspiria*. fol. 1659. P. 606.

their function, which fixed me; who cannot in point of *worldly respects* be so considerable to me, as to recompense the injuries and losses I and my dearest relations, with my kingdoms, have sustained and hazarded, *chiefly at first upon this* quarrel."

Now, my Lord, I own I think we have here a communication of minds in these two passages. And the question for our decision is this, Do the sentiments in the *Icón* come to us *direct* from the King? or have we them there, written by the hand of Gauden, though still derived from the King? *from* the King, that is, *to* Gauden, *through* the me-

dium of Stephen Marshall? This, I say, is the question: and, for myself, I own, I have no doubt whatever of the only fit answer.

(5.) "Whilst he was at his private devotions," says Sir Philip Warwick, describing the events of the fatal 30th of January, "Nye, and some other bold-faced Ministers, knocked at his door; and the Bishop, (Juxon) going to open it, they told him, they came to offer their service to pray with the King. He told them the King was at his own private devotions: however, he would acquaint him. But the King resolving not to send out to them, they after some time had the modesty to knock again; and the Bishop suspecting who they were, told the King it would be necessary to give them some answer. The King replied, then (says he) thank them from me for the tender of themselves: *but tell them plainly, that they that have so often, and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony.* They may, if they please, and I'll thank *them for it, pray for me.*" *Memoirs* P. 343.

(5.) The day following that on which the words on the other side purport to have been spoken by the King, a book comes out, professing also to be the King's, in which we read as follows.

Icón B. Chap. xvi. "One of the greatest faults some men found with the Common Prayer-Book, I believe was this, that it taught them to pray so oft for me; to which petitions they had not loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet charity enough to forbear *reproaches*, and even *cursings* of me, in their own forms, instead of *praying for me.*"

Again. Chap. xxiv. "I have sometimes thought, the un-Christianness of those denials might arise from a displeasure some men had to see me prefer my own Divines before their Ministers: whom, though I respect for that worth and piety which may be in them; yet I cannot think them so proper for my present comforters or physicians, who have (some of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon me.

"Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those holy

offices to be performed *with* me, and *for* me; since their judgment standing at a distance from me, or in jealousy of me, or in opposition against me, their spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with mine, or mine with theirs, either in prayer or other holy duties, as is meet and most comfortable; whose golden rule and bond of perfection consists in that of mutual love and charity."

(6.) The next extract I take from that copy of the King's Speech on the Scaffold, which was published by authority of his enemies.

" Yet for all this, God forbid that I should be so ill a Christian as not to say, that *God's judgments* are *just upon me.* Many times he does *pay justice* by *an unjust* sentence: that is ordinary. I will only say this, that *an unjust sentence that I suffered to take* effect, is *now punished* by an unjust sentence upon me." King Charles's *Speech on the Scaffold.* 4to. 1649. P. 5.

(6.) There are two points in the opposite extract, between which and the book published the day after, a communion of mind is apparent.

Icón B. Chap. xxvii. " How God will deal with me, as to the removal of these pressures and indignities, which His *justice,* by the very *unjust* hands of some of my subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon me, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul what I believe is right before God."

Icón B. Chap. ii. " Teach me to learn righteousness by Thy judgments; and to see my frailty in Thy justice. While I *was persuaded by shedding one man's blood,* to prevent after troubles, Thou hast *for that, among* other sins, brought upon me, and upon my kingdoms, great, long, and heavy troubles."

Now, my Lord, in closing this topic concerning the Sayings of the King, there is but one remark, that I am desirous of making. If there be *any thing at all* in our parallelisms, there is a *great deal* in them. If the two sides be not *totally* unconnected and *in-*

dependent of one another, I do not well know what other account or explanation can be given, but that even from this single argument, the work *must* be the King's.

But, I have stated, that the Book is a faithful Portrait of the King's *Character*. Therefore, next to his *Sayings*, let us now consider a point or two under that head of argument.

A disposition *to forgive injuries* was a very prevailing temper of mind in Charles. And yet I much doubt, whether this fact was adequately understood, at the time, by Gauden and *his* friends; or by the bulk of the King's contemporaries. We have had instances even in our own day, how gross the injustice is apt to be to the characters of Princes, during their life time. It was known, however by those with whom he lived, that,

"Nothing was more suitable to the King's magnanimous nature, than to forgive those who had in the highest degree offended him[6]." And, "Really," says Sir Edward Walker, "he had the least revenge in his nature of any man living. And I have heard Colonel Graves, one of your Party, that had the guard of him at Holmby, often say, that he did believe his Majesty to be a person of so great mercy and goodness, as that if it were possible for him to live again, he could freely pardon all those who had contributed to his death[7]."

"It being remarked, that the King, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the single word REMEMBER, great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the Generals vehemently insisted with the Prelate that he should inform them of the King's meaning. Juxon told them, that the King having frequently

[6] Clarendon's *Life*. P. 79.

[7] *Historical Tracts*. P. 210. fol.

charged him to inculcate on his Son the forgiveness of the murderers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his commands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to reiterate that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence towards his greatest enemies [8]."

Let us pause for a moment at this word REMEMBER, to cast our eyes towards Dr. Gauden.

Gauden published a Book called Στρατοστηλιτευτικοι, *A just invective against those of the Army and their abettors who murdered King Charles I.* This Book, he tells us, he wrote on the tenth of February, immediately after the murder of the King; that is, probably not more than a month or two after he must have composed the closing chapters of the *Icôn*. Let us take a passage or two from this wretched Piece, to to compare with what we have now learned of the temper of the King; that temper so emphatically expressed by the word *Remember*. He is speaking to the Army.

"Go on, you *Apollyons*, you *Abaddons*, in the spirit of Antichrist to fill up the measure of your abominations, till you are drunk with blood, and stumble and fall together. O you locusts, the blackest smoke, and noisomest vapour that *ever the* breath of the bottomless Pit exhaled, or sent forth into the Christian World . . . .

"We assure you that you are now looked upon by all sober and honest minds, as the heaviest and filthiest *Incubuses* that ever oppressed Church or State; as the Legions of unclean Spirits, which by diabolical arts and magic of hypocrisy, have got possession of this Church and Kingdom, till Christ by his power cast you out, and suffer you like the Demoniack Swine, through the just judgment of God, to be hurried headlong by your own terrors, and despairs, into the Lake that burns with fire and brimstone.

[8] *Hume.*

"You are like cursed *Chams*, not mockers only, but murtherers of the Father of your country; impudent ravishers both of Church and State, to satisfy your most abominable lusts of tyranny, covetousness, and all licentious prophaneness.

"Monsters of men, putid Apostates, execrable Saints, shameless Sinners, traitorous Tyrants, what have you to plead for, or palliate with your late horrid outrages, and unparalleled villainies[9]?

"Nor do we doubt but all the curses written in the book of God (which like that of Meroz, have been causelessly, factiously and falsely, by some of your double-faced Januses" (he here refers to his friend and neighbour, Stephen Marshall) "formerly imprecated upon the King, and his loyalest subjects, will certainly overtake, and fall upon both you, and your viperous Generation . . . .

"We tell you, we are so far from counting you Saints and Saviours, that we look upon you as the Tophet which God hath indeed prepared for the King, and these kingdoms, to try and correct them awhile. But, we doubt not, God will at last cast you, who are our Sin, our Death, and our Hell, into the Lake that burns with fire and brimstone for ever[1]."

Lastly:

"How can such *Zimris*, who have so traiterously slain such a King, their Lord and Master, ever hope to have peace, or impunity in this, or the other world? . . . Nor will, we hope, our Solomon," (Charles II.) "by God's blessing, and his subjects' assistance, suffer the hairy scalps of those who were the chief Counsellors and Actors, in destroying his dear Father, and our dread Sovereign, to go down to the grave in peace, or to die a dry death, who have shed the blood of war, in a time when all differences were by a treaty drawn to a peace and union[2]."

Let us now produce a passage or two from the *Icon*.

"If Thou wilt bring me again with peace, safety, and honor, to my chiefest City, and my Parliament:

[9] P. 3. edit. 1662. 4to.
[1] P. 16.
[2] P. 33.

"If Thou wilt again put the sword of Justice into my hand to punish and protect:

"Then will I make all the world to see, and my very enemies to enjoy, the benefit of *this Vow* and Resolution of Christian Charity which I *now* make unto Thee, O Lord.

"*As* I do freely pardon, for Christ's sake, those that have offended me in any kind; *so* my hand shall never be against any man, to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to me.

"We have been mutually punished in our unnatural divisions. For Thy sake, O Lord, and for the love of my Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, that I will use all means in the ways of amnesty and indemnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulness.

"Let Thy Mercies be toward Me and Mine, as my resolutions of truth and peace are toward my people.

"Hear my prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of feigned lips." (Chap. xxv.)

Again: In the Chapter entitled, *To the Prince of Wales.*

"But, as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency, to heal the wounds; that the smart of the cure, may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

"I have offered Acts of Indemnity and Oblivion to so great a latitude, as may include all that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the Laws: and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

"I would have you always propense to the same way. Whenever it shall be desired and expected, let it be granted; not only as an act of State-Policy, but of Christian charity and choice.

"It is all I have now left, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all. And I thank God that I have a heart to do it: and joy as much in this grace which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments. For this is a greater argument of God's love to me than any prosperity can be."

Lastly: near the end of the Book.

"O Lord, Thou knowest I have found their mercies to me, as

very false, so very cruel; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruin.

"O deal not with them as blood-thirsty and deceitful men: but overcome their cruelty with Thy compassion and my charity.

"And when Thou makest inquisition for my blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent souls, with the blood of Thy Son; that Thy destroying Angel may pass over them.

"Though they think my kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and me; yet let the capacious kingdom of Thy infinite Mercy at last receive both Me and my Enemies.

"When being reconciled to Thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, we shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities."

Now, my Lord, is it possible that these sentiments of sublime and Christian Piety and Charity should flow from the same breast and within a few days, with that execrable trash, which I cited before from the *Invective?* We have two claimants for their authorship; the King and Gauden; the King with the last word "*Remember*" upon his lips; and Gauden with what we have just seen. I ask again, is it possible that these could be the sentiments and the expressions of Gauden? While, on the other hand, is there not a *moral certainty* that they *might*, and is there not every conceivable, moral *probability*, as well as every positive, explicit *testimony*, that they actually *did* come from the King?

I will close this topic by an extract from an undoubted production of the King, the Newport Letter; written, therefore, probably, *as nearly* to the time when the passages which I have cited from the *Icón* were written, as the *Invective* of Gauden purports to have been.

" By what hath been said, you see how long we have laboured in the search of peace: *do not you* be disheartened to tread *in the same steps*. Use all worthy ways to restore yourself to your rights; but prefer the way of peace. Shew the *greatness of your mind*[3], if God bless you, (and let us comfort you, with that which is our own comfort, that though affliction may make us pass under the censure of men, yet we look upon it so, as if it procure not, by God's mercy, to *us* a *deliverance*, it will to *you* a blessing) rather to *conquer your enemies by pardoning*, than punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristian the implacable disposition is in our ill-willers, you would avoid that spirit . . . . To conclude, if God gives you success, use it humbly and far from revenge[4].

Take the character of Charles as we have had it described by Clarendon and Sir Edward Walker; take his last emphatic word, *Remember;* and this his Letter to his Son; and combine them with the extracts from the *Icón Basilikè*. The entire compound is homogeneous and intelligible: but, how these extracts can agree with those *contemporaneous* effusions of Gauden, is more than I can comprehend.

We will now make trial of another trait of Charles's *Character*.

The seventh Chapter of the *Icón*, entitled, *Upon the Queen's departure and absence out of England*, is the one which drew from Lord Clarendon the expression " immortal monument," of the King's transcendant affection to her Majesty. It is indeed a beautiful chapter; as will appear from one or two short extracts.

[3] Compare *Icón*. *To the Prince*. " As your quality sets you beyond any duel with any subject: so the *nobleness of your mind* must raise you above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many."

[4] *Clarendon Papers*. Vol. II. P. 448-9.

"I am sorry my relation to so deserving a lady should be any occasion of her danger and affliction, whose merits would have served for her protection among the savage Indians; while *their rudeness* and barbarity knows not so perfectly to hate all virtues, as some men's *subtlety* doth: among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate her for herself. The fault is, that she is my wife.

"All justice then, as well as affection, commands me to study her security, who is only in danger for my sake. I am content to be tossed, weather-beaten, and *shipwrecked*, so as she may be in safe harbour . . . .

"'Tis pity so noble and peaceful a soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice with inhumanity and impudence . . . .

"The less I may be blest with her company, the more I will retire to God, and my own heart, whence no malice can banish her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive me of the enjoyment of her virtues, while I enjoy myself."

The King's ardent attachment to Henrietta Maria is well known. It is thus strikingly described by Lord Clarendon.

"The King's affection to the Queen was of a very extraordinary alloy; a composition of conscience, and love, and generosity, and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise the passion to the greatest height; insomuch as he saw with her eyes, and determined by her judgment. And he did not only pay her this adoration, but desired that all men should know that he was swayed by her; which was not good for either of them. The Queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him a just return of noblest affections: so that they were the true idea of conjugal affection, in the age in which they lived[5]."

This attachment the King retained to the very last. In the parting scene with his children, "He bid me tell my mother" (says the Lady Elizabeth,

[5] Clarendon's *Life*. P. 79.

who did not survive to deliver the message) " that his thoughts had never strayed from her; and that his love should be the same to the last[6]."

Can any one deny, that an entire harmony and suitableness subsists between these accounts and the Chapter in the *Icón?* They are as true to one another, as " face answering to face."

But, he retained his attachment to the end. See therefore, among his last charges to the Prince, in the twenty-seventh Chapter of the *Icón:*

" A principal point of your honour will consist in your conferring all respect, love, and protection on your mother, my wife; who hath many ways deserved well of me, and chiefly in this, that having been a means to bless me with so many hopeful children, all which, with their mother, I recommend to your love and care, she hath been content, with incomparable magnanimity and patience, to suffer both *for* and *with* me and you."

Under this head, we can again refer for comparison, to private letters of Charles, never seen by Dr. Gauden. The first is to his Son, soon after the battle of Naseby.

" Charles,

" It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst. In order to which I spoke with Colepepper this morning concerning you: judging it fit to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readier obedience to it. Wherefore know that my pleasure is, whensoever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the Rebels' hands, that you convey yourself into France, and there to be under your Mother's care: who is to have the absolute full power of your education in all things, *except Religion;* and in that, not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your Tutor, the Bishop of Salisbury, or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his necessitated absence[7]."

[6] *Relation* subjoined to the Icôn Basilike.

[7] Clarendon's *Hist. Rebellion.* Vol. II. P. 1024. 8vo.

And again, to the same effect, to Lord Colepepper.

"But that which is of more necessity, indeed absolute, is, that with the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest expedition, Prince Charles be transported into France; where his mother is to have the sole care of him, in all things but one, which is his Religion; and that must still be under the care of the Bishop of Salisbury; and this I undertake his mother shall submit unto; concerning which, by my next dispatch, I will advertise her[6]."

In this fruitful subject, (as fruitful, I mean, on the the side of the King, as it is barren on that of Gauden) when once we begin our illustrations, it is difficult to stop. These two passages last quoted, from private Letters, throw me back once more upon the *Icón*. Your Grace will have noticed in both extracts the important exception with respect to *Religion*.

Accordingly, "I fear" (says he, in Chap. VII.) "such notions, so little to the adorning of the *Protestant* profession, may occasion a further alienation of mind, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion; which is the *only thing wherein we differ*." And again, very beautifully, a little after, in the same Chapter.

"Though we differ in some things as to *Religion*, (which is *my greatest temporal infelicity*), yet, Lord, give and accept the sincerity of our affections, which desire to seek, to find, to embrace every truth of Thine.

"Let not this great scandal of those my subjects which profess the *same* Religion *with me*, be any hindrance to her love of any truth, Thou wouldest have her to learn, nor any hardening of her in any error, Thou wouldest have cleared to her."

[6] Ibid. P. 1047.

So true, so sincere, so beautiful is this passage, that I am compelled to ask, How could *any man* forge it? Of all men,—how could it be forged by Dr. Gauden?

But Gauden too had a Wife: and he has spoken largely in her praises: and largely of their domestic felicity.

Something of this appears in his private Letters to Lord Clarendon. But he has expatiated, in some of his printed performances. Take, for instance, the *Hieraspistes*.

"For my own particular, I have obtained all I designed by this Defence, if I may put all excellent Christians, and those chiefly whom it most concerns, in mind of that which I think they cannot forget, or neglect without great imprudence, as well as sin: nor will any man be excuseable, who doth not, with his best endeavours, promote it. No private ends, or sinister passion of envy, covetousness or ambition," (I suspect that Gauden had a glimpse here of his own real character); "no fear, or contempt of any man hath any ingrediency in this piece, (however, in other things, no man is more prone to discover how weak and sinful a creature he is, without God's grace). I have nothing of private interest, for profit, or honor, to crave, or expect, from great or good men: indeed, they have little or nothing *left* to tempt men with. I have more than I can merit, or well account for. Yea I have enough; through the bounty of God, and the blessing of one, (to me), inestimable jewel: whose virtuous lustre both beautifies and enricheth my life to an honorable competency, and a most happy tranquillity; whose every way most over-meriting merits have deserved, as much as can be, to be consecrated by my pen, to an eternity of gratitude and honour.

"I have seen so more than enough of the world's vanity, madness, and misery, that I do not desire any thing more, than to spend the remainder of my life" (he was now about seven or eight and forty), "in a contented privacy, to the glory of God, the honor of this Church, and the welfare of posterity. If I were offered the choice of

all wishes, and the fulfilling of them in this world, I would desire nothing, next that justice which is the conservatrix of all civil peace and society, but this, that such as are able, would so far consider the honour of God, and the welfare of the Church of England, as to become Patrons, and Encouragers of good Learning, and the reformed Religion; and to this purpose, that they would establish that holy discipline, right order, ancient government, and divine succession of able Ministers, which ought to be in the Church of Christ[9]."

But, this meek, happy, contented, disinterested, public-spirited man, fell, like his Sovereign, into troubles: that is, before he had been in possession of it so much as a month, he found that he had got not so good a bishoprick as he desired; and in his troubles, as might be supposed, his wife is uppermost in his thoughts. He was consecrated December 2, (1660), and I now quote from a letter written on the 21st of the same month, to his Patron, the Lord Chancellor.

"Your Lordship commanded me to trust in your favour for an honourable maintenance, and some such additional support, as might supply the defects of the Bishoprick. If this may not be had; *I must not return again to Exeter, unless I will be in love with beggary and contempt.* I have not *so little sense of my Relations*, as to sacrifice them with myself, upon the high place of Episcopal honor. Nor am I so unconscious to the service I have done to the Church, and his Majesty's family, as to bear *with patience* such a ruin, most undeservedly put upon me. Are these the effects of *his* liberal expressions, who told me I might have what I would desire? I was too modest and ingenuous, therefore I *must here perish among strangers*[1]. But I will rather renounce all this empty honor, and cruel

[9] *Hieraspistes:* a Defence of the Ministry and Ministers of the Church of England. 1658. 4to. P. 589, 590.

[1] Will it be believed that this person within three weeks of writing these words, did publicly address the following passages to a party of forty-four Deacons and Pres-

employ. Nor do I despair but his Majesty will be so gracious as to give me leave to lead a private life; for, in this public conspicuity, I cannot serve him or the Church, unless I have what *becomes my place and genius*. All the favor I crave of the King and your Lordship is, that if there be no way for to set me afloat, and keep me from coming aground, and so shipwrecking as Bishop of Exeter, yet I may at least be restored to my parsonage at Bocking, there to end my days in privacy, yea obscurity; which is a thousand times more tolerable than indigent honor. For my past credulity, folly,

byters, admitted by him on that day to teach the saving and self-denying doctrines of the blessed Jesus?

"It must be esteemed by you the least of your reward, whatever you can either seek or receive in this world. He is excessively covetous whom God doth not suffice; who is not only the bountifullest rewarder, but the amplest and best reward itself. He is too ambitious, whom the honor of gaining souls to Jesus Christ will not satisfy." *The Counsel which the Bishop of Exeter delivered in the Cathedral Church*, &c. Jan. 13, 1660, 1. fol. p. 16.

"Be not too intent upon your Glebes and Tithes, your hoped Dignities or enjoyed Preferments in the Church. (In the Latin it is "Ne glebis, et decimis, et dignitatibus, et *Episcopatibus*, caducis istis bonis, nimis attenti," &c.), these fading and momentary things, lest you should slight the flock of the Lord, and too little mind the things of Jesus Christ: when, in good earnest, it is an argument of a great and gracious mind to be able to want the superfluity of those temporary blessings; but more to enjoy and use them aright; that is, to love them less than Christ, and to improve them both to God's glory, and the Church's advantage." *Ibid.* p. 17.

He speaks also of himself. "It is my *duty* and *design*, my Brethren, by the grace and help of God, to fill, adorn, and bless this Diocese of Exeter, if I am enabled to live among you, (which the King, and, I hope, God's Providence, hath committed to me, oft deprecating, and humbly denying the burthen of it); which is greater in labours than revenue, and *most ample* in the love, favours, and respects of the *religious and generous people in it*." This is modest: for, these are "the strangers," among whom Clarendon has sent him "to perish.") "As I find it much shattered and decayed, so my ambition is to restore it to a durable and uniform beauty; and instead of moldred bricks, to put in polished marble, by doing nothing peevishly," &c. *Ibid.* p. 24.

With how much good faith he performed these promises, of leaving every thing marble behind him, we shall learn from the Life of his Successor.

"Upon his arrival at Exeter," (says Dr. Walter Pope speaking of Bishop Seth Ward, in 1662), "he found all things in disorder. The Bishop's Palace was in the possession of a Sugar Baker, and put to that sweet use. The Church was parted by a Traverse, the Presbyterians and Independents dividing it betwixt them: which inconveniences the *former Bishop took no care* to remove; expecting to be translated to a better bishopric, as afterwards he was." *Life, &c.* p. 55. 1697. 8vo.

and expenses, I must bear them as well as I can. I shall ever be able so far to vindicate myself as to let the world see, that I deserved either not to have been made a Bishop against my will; or to be entertained in that office to my content. But I find no regard is had of me; which makes me thus to represent to your Lordship the prospect of my unhappy affairs at present. If the King and your Lordship, do not think me worthy of a support befitting this station, I beseech you give me leave to degrade myself, and resign the honor, yea the burthen which I cannot bear, *nor can my nearest Relation, whose happiness is dearer to me than my own. I must not see her soul sink under the just apprehension she hath of being miserable because she is mine.* Her pious, loyal, and generous spirit, is too conscious to what I have done, both known and unknown to the world, in order to buoy up the honor of the Royal Family, the Church and Episcopacy, *to bear with any temper* the straights to which she sees me, herself, and her children exposed. I will run upon any rock short of sin, rather than see her perish, who hath deserved of me beyond all the world. If your Lordship will not concern yourself in my affairs, (who can easily find ways to ease them, and by your repeated expressions, invited me to repose myself on your care of my content), I must make my last complaint to the King[2]."

Is it possible for any thing to be more odious and disgusting!—But our business is to ascertain, whether this Man was the writer of the *Icón*. "*This honor, this burthen, I cannot bear, nor can my nearest Relation!*" "*Her pious, loyal,* and generous spirit, is too conscious, *to bear with any temper*, the straights to which she sees me, herself, and her children exposed!" And this we are to be told is the same mind, which gave birth to the *Icón:* and, for instance, to those words, which we have lately had before us;

[2] *Clarendon Papers.* Vol. III. P. xxvi. Appendix.

"She hath many ways deserved well of me; and chiefly in this, that she *hath been content*, with incomparable magnanimity and patience, to suffer both *for*, and *with me*, and *you*."

Or those other, from Chapter vii.

"Neither of us but can easily forgive, since we do not so much blame the unkindness of the *generality* and *vulgar*: for, we see God is pleased to try both our patience by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with our bounty, have scornfully lift up themselves against us; and those of our own household have become our enemies. *I pray God lay not their sin to their charge.*"

We have two Portraits before us. May I not call upon any one, in the language of Hamlet,

Look here upon this Picture, and on this?

Is it possible, they can be the works of the same hand! What have we—but "*Hyperion to a Satyr?*"

I must content myself with prosecuting the character and circumstances of the King, only in one particular more.—He had, at times, a desire to die; but the natural passion was by degrees controlled and chastened by the divine principles of Christianity.

Lord Clarendon, speaking of the King's condition, not long after the battle of Naseby, says,

"In the mean time, no ways were left untried to draw such a body of an army together, as might enable his Majesty to make some attempt upon the enemy. And if he could by all possible endeavours, have drawn out of all his garrisons left, a force of five thousand horse and foot, (which at that time seemed a thing not to be despaired of), he *did more desire to have lost his life*, in some signal attempt upon any part of the enemy's army, than to have enjoyed

any conditions which he foresaw he was ever like to obtain by treaty[3]."

We may discern something of this same mood of mind in two of the King's private letters.

I write "with a sadder heart than I ever thought that any of you could have caused . . . How can you think it possible for me to joy in any thing after this? I hope you will not deny my *major:* if you do, *I shall leave thinking of any thing, but how to die*[4]."

And in another letter, from the same place, Newcastle, to the same friends, Lords Jermyn and Culpepper, and Mr. John Ashburnham, now with the Queen, in France:

"Only one particular I must mention, wherewith Davenant hath threatened me; which is, 351" (the Queen) "retiring from all businesses into a Monastery. This, if it fall out, (which God forbid!) is so destructive to all my affairs—I say no more of it: my heart is too big; the rest being fitter for your thoughts than my expression. In another way I have mentioned this to 351, (my *grief* being the only thing I desire to *conceal* from her; with which I am as full now, as I can be without bursting) commanding you to remember her to answer me; and help to conceal my sorrow from her as much as may be, which will be some ease to it, *that of itself were so great as were not to be born*, but for the great cordial of her daily expressions of kindness to me; and that *this way* I find some vent for it. I conclude with this true saying, that neither anger nor grief shall make me forget my friendship to you. So farewell[5]."

From other authorities[6] we find it was the King's custom to write short mottoes in his books. One of

[3] *Hist. of Rebellion.* Book X. at the beginning.
[4] Clarendon *Papers.* Vol. II. P. 256.
[5] Ibid. P. 270.
[6] Herbert's *Memoirs.* P. 44.

these superscriptions was *Dum spiro, spero:* another, more pertinent to the object which we have now in hand, was the following distich:

Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam:
Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.

Here your Grace will observe that natural human feeling of a desire to be released from affliction: but you will also observe it modified and elevated by higher principles.

But again: on the fatal morning, the 30th of January, the King, on account of the cold, desired of Herbert to furnish him with a shirt more than ordinary: "by reason, (says he), the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake; which some observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death! Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God, I am prepared [7]."

Now, with respect to the history by Clarendon, the Letters of the King, these mottoes, and this saying to Herbert, I have no doubt but that Gauden was equally unacquainted with them all.

I now turn, therefore to the Author of *Icôn Basilikè*, and am prepared to declare unhesitatingly, that I do not think the same can be truly predicated concerning him.

"I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a stranger to the contemplations of mortality. Those are never unseasonable, since this is always uncertain: Death being an eclipse which oft happeneth as well in clear as cloudy days.

[7] Ibid. P. 128.

" But now my long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those natural antipathies between life and death, which are in all men, that, I thank God, the terrors of it are dispelled, and the special horror of it, as to my particular, much allayed. For, although my death at present may justly be represented to me, with all those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs being drawn to the very dregs of malice); yet, I bless God, I can look upon all those stings as unpoisonous, though sharp; since my Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or given me the antidote of his death against them; which as to the immaturity, injustice, shame, scorn, and cruelty of it, exceeded whatever I can fear . . .

" I am not so old as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) so bad as to be either afraid to die, or ashamed to live. True, *I am so afflicted, as might make me sometimes even desire to die; if I did not consider* that it is the greatest glory of a Christian's life to *die daily*, in conquering, by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths which kill us, as it were by piece-meals, and make us over-live our own fates; while we are deprived of health, honor, liberty, power, credit, safety, or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives[8]."

" Indeed they have left me but little of life, and only the husk and shell, as it were, which their further malice and cruelty can take from me; having bereaved me of all those worldly comforts, for which life itself seems desirable to men.

" But, O my soul, *think not that life too long*, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to *do*, yet to *suffer* with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

" I know that in point of true Christian valour it argues pusillanimity *to desire to die out of weariness of life*, and a want of that heroic greatness of spirit which becomes a Christian, in the patient and generous sustaining of those afflictions, which, as shadows, necessarily attend us, while we are in this body[9]."

[8] Chap. xxviii.
[9] Ibid. Chap xxviii.

But Gauden too, as I have intimated, had his "Solitudes and Sufferings." Being separated for a month or two from his wife, and gone to take possession of a Bishoprick, which, however we saw him speaking of it, when it was in possession, he could contemplate, with no small complacency, when it was in prospect [1], he expresses himself to Lord Clarendon in the following terms:

"I must shortly come to a resolution. If I be not thought worthy to be considered, there is but one counsel to be taken by me, which may, though very much to my grief and disorder, redeem me from utter ruin, yet so as not to neglect my duty to God, the King, and the Church, so far as I shall be able to attend to it. *I do not desire to live long* in this distracted and solicitous condition. *I had rather die;* or else be buried in any obscurity, while I live. No man hath more of diligence and industry than myself; and none, I see, is less encouraged. Mine are the pains; others are the profits. Yet is my mind so moderate, that I aim not to enrich myself, but only to adorn the province in which I am set [2]."

If we would believe him, the man *desires not to live:* he had *rather die,* than live in his poor bishopric at Exeter.

Again, I am compelled to exclaim,

Look here upon this Picture, and on this!

Is it possible that the two can be the productions

[1] "And being himself not unlikely to be a Bishop, (though unworthy), by the Providence of God, and the King's favor, yea and by the general desire of the city and Diocese of Exeter, without any, his own or others, ambitious procuring, soliciting or bespeaking in his behalf, (as God is witness), he hopes, through the Grace of God, to be one of those good exemplars of worthy Bishops, who may answer the Libeller's and Dr. Burgess's best desires; though he despairs to exceed his two last incomparable predecessors, Bishop Hall and Bishop Brownrigg, two and almost inimitable Prelates, whom the age was not worthy to enjoy, nor Dr. B. to mention their names with his foul mouth." *Anti-Baal-Berith;* or the binding of the Covenant. 4to. 1661. P. 129.

[2] Clarendon *Papers.* Vol. III. P. xxxi. Appendix.

of the same pencil? I cannot think it. Are we to suppose that the only principle of composition which conducted Dr. Gauden to so successful results in the *Icón*, was that of framing an ideal picture, as unlike himself as might be?

But, my Lord, we have, not merely *sayings* of the King, and a recorded *character;* there are also numerous *Writings*, important to be referred to, as materials for comparison with the *Icón*.

In the large printed folio, entitled "*Works of King Charles*," some of the Declarations are known to be the productions of his own pen. The volume also contains the private letters and papers taken at Naseby, and which were published by the Parliament, under the title of *The King's Cabinet;* and it has likewise the papers in the dispute with Alexander Henderson, respecting Episcopacy; and some other undoubted writings. Besides these, we are in possession of numerous letters, subsequently published, in several collections, and especially in Burnet's *Memoirs* of the Dukes of Hamilton, and in the Clarendon *State Papers*. Now, all these are exceedingly pertinent to our present enquiry: and he who would do the fullest justice to the work in hand, must examine them all. For us, however, this would be impossible. I must content myself with hastily turning over the leaves of the *Icón Basilikè*, and offering, as we proceed, a few illustrations, derived from those writings, and occasionally from other sources: premising, however, that having

taken some pains to collect all the printed Remains of the King, and having carefully examined all that I have been able to collect, I cannot gather from any part of them, *any* the slightest reason for thinking, that he did not write this book ; but *innumerable* reasons for the contrary. The *Icôn*, as it suits the circumstances and history—the *sayings*—and the *character:* so likewise, it perfectly suits the *writings* of the King.

I. Let us begin with the *second* Chapter; that upon *the Death of the Earl of Strafford.*

I am willing to believe, that much of what we have upon this topic might, without difficulty, be known to Dr. Gauden. The unhappy conjuncture of circumstances *previously*, the agony and conflict of the King's mind *before* passing the bill, and his deep contrition, bitter self-reproaches, and sorrowful confessions *after* the dread event, were matters, I doubt not, of sufficient public notoriety. But, there are some things which meet us here, so *secret* and private, and others so *exact*, subtle, and particular, that I question much whether they could have proceeded from any other hand than his own; much less do I think that they might have been Dr. Gauden's.

A meeting of the Privy Council is clearly *implied* in one of the paragraphs. And, that such meeting did take place, at which the King was advised to give way, we learn from the historians. The *names*, however, of the particular individuals, who most urged the King to yield, are not very clearly intimated, even by Clarendon, Whitlocke, or Rush-

worth, of all of whom, we must remember, Gauden knew nothing. It is but by inference, and bringing together remote particulars, that we ascertain, that Lord Say had an extraordinary share in this intrigue.

Now, the King is made to say, " I was *persuaded* by those *that, I think, wished me well,* to chuse rather what was safe, than what seemed just :" and, a little below, " I gratified some men's unthankful importunities."

In that particular expression, " those that, I think, wished *me well,*" I conceive it very probable that the King intended to allude especially to Lord Say: and the clue I have to lead me to this conjecture, is the following words of Lord Clarendon.

" This advice," (that is, to go to the House of Peers, to declare that he could not give his consent to the bill, but would join in any act to render the Earl incapable of office for the future,) " upon the confidence of the giver," (Lord Say,) " the King resolved to follow. . . . . The King observing his positiveness, and *conceiving his intentions to be very sincere, suffered himself to be guided by him;* and went immediately to the House [3]."

And again, in more general terms :

" He," (Lord Say,) " found always some way to *make professions of duty* to the King ; and made several undertakings to do great services, which he could not, or would not make good [4]."

I give this only as conjecture ; the turn of expression, however, put into the mouth of the King, (*" I was persuaded by those,"* &c.) is remarkable; and therefore, *first,* it is in itself such as a forger would not be likely to venture upon. But *further;* so far as

[3] *History of Rebellion.* Vol. I. P. 396. 8vo. edit. 1807.
[4] Ibid. Vol. II. P. 317.

it shall appear, that such kind of expressions are illustrated and verified by remote and independent documents, we must be of opinion, that, in the same proportion, the probability of forgery is impaired.

Again:

"I have observed," says the King, in this same chapter, "that (1.) those who counselled me to sign that bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the people, that (2.) few men have been harassed and crushed, more than they. He only (3.) hath been least vexed by them, who counselled me not to consent against the vote of my own conscience. I hope God hath forgiven me and them the sinful rashness of that business."

(1.) As I have already remarked, with all our means, infinitely surpassing, what were enjoyed by Dr. Gauden, it is not very easy to make out *who* were the King's special advisers, to pass the Bill of Attainder. A forger, therefore, would be on his guard against committing himself by prosecuting so obscure a fact too far. But it is obvious, there are no marks of any such caution here. Two of the counsellors, however, who, there is sufficient reason to believe, were deepest in this transaction, are Lord Say, and Sir Henry Vane: and one of the Prelates, it is certain, who gave a similar advice, was Archbishop Williams; to whose opinion, as we find from Clarendon, the King applied himself, at the special suggestion of Lord Say [5].

Now, in whatever degree it is probable, that the leading part taken by these three individuals, might be unknown, at the time, to Dr. Gauden; in the

[5] Vol. I. P. 543.

same, will the three extracts which I now proceed to give, from Lord Clarendon, appear to be pertinent and satisfactory, when considered in connexion with the passage above- cited, "*No men have been harassed and crushed more than they.*"

First, respecting Lord Say.

"When he thought there was mischief enough done, he would have stopped the current, and have diverted farther fury: but he then found, he had only authority and credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone[6]."

Next: of Sir Henry Vane.

"His malice to the Earl of Strafford, (who had unwisely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt,) transported him to all imaginable thoughts of revenge; which is a guest, that naturally disquiets and tortures those who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and that disposed him to sacrifice his honour and faith, and his Master's interest, that he might ruin the Earl; and was buried himself in the same ruin: for, being justly chastised by the King, and turned out of his service, he was left to his own despair: and, though he concurred in all the malicious designs against the King, and against the Church, *he grew into the hatred and contempt of those that made the most use of him;* and died in universal reproach, and not contemned more by any of his enemies, than by his own son; who had been his principal conductor to destruction[7]."

Lastly: of Archbishop Williams.

"Upon all these great services *he had performed for the party*, he grew every day more imperious; and after the King thought it necessary to make him Archbishop of York, which, as the time then was, could not qualify him to do more harm, and might possibly dispose and oblige him to do some good; he carried himself so in-

[6] Vol. II. P. 317.
[7] Vol. II. P. 319.

solently, in the House and out of the House, to all persons, that he became much more odious universally, than ever the other Archbishop had been; having sure more enemies than he, and few or no friends, of which the other had abundance. And the great hatred of this man's person and behaviour, was the greatest invitation to the House of Commons, so irregularly to revive that bill to remove the Bishops; and was their chief encouragement to hope, that the Lords, who had rejected the former, would now pass, and consent to this second bill.

"This was one of the Bishops, who was most rudely treated by the rabble[s]."

We might almost suppose that the noble historian, in these passages, was writing a comment upon the above-cited sentence of *Icôn Basilikè*.

(2.) Let us now advert for a moment, to a second clause in the same extract.

I will not deny, (because it was told by Charles himself, to Sir Edward Walker,) that *some* knew, before the death of the King, (and therefore, perhaps, before the book could be written by Dr. Gauden,) that one individual *had* given righteous counsel to his Sovereign; and that some knew further, that this person was Bishop Juxon. Though the thing is very unlikely, yet, by possibility therefore, both these particulars *might* be known to Dr. Gauden, at the time when this chapter was written, though Dr. Walker tells us, that he was a stranger to them till after he had been acquainted with them by Gauden: and which, as I have said, I doubt not was long after the book was published; and, therefore, long after the information was in the

[s] Vol. I. P. 544.

possession of Sir Edward Walker. Granting, then, for argument's sake, that such *was* the case, yet still the clause is deserving of observation, on more accounts than one. First, an act of justice is here done to an excellent individual, which has been neglected, even by Lord Clarendon. For he not only tells us, that "*not one counsellor* interposed his opinion, to support his Master's magnanimity and innocence;" but also, that while Bishop Williams "acted his part, with *more prodigious boldness and impiety, others of the same function,* (for *whose learning and sincerity,* the King and the world had greater reverence,) *did not,* what might have been expected from their calling, or their trust; but, *at least forbore to fortify and confirm a conscience,* upon the courage and piety of which, the security of their persons and their order did absolutely, under God, depend[9]."

There is a degree of difference, therefore, in this instance, between the *Icón* and Lord Clarendon: and the latter is not so correct as might be wished. Let me add, then, that there is none between the *Icón* and the King. He, on occasion, did not forget, that due tribute, which the *Icón* has paid, but Clarendon has neglected. "To the honour of the Bishop of London," says Sir Edward Walker, "*I heard* him cleared *by the King*[1]."

We *know,* then, that the *Icón* and the King *concur* in this tribute of respect to one faithful counsellor: but, who shall prove to us that the same was the

[9] Vol. I. P. 399, 400.

[1] *Historical Discourses.* P. 269.

case with respect to Dr. Gauden? A questionable testimony, indeed, we have, in what is told us by Dr. Walker. But, for my part, I am compelled to think, that this was nothing but a poor attempt on Gauden's side, long subsequently, to scatter seeds, that should spring up into something like evidence hereafter.

(3.) In the last place, supposing now for a moment, for the sake of argument, that Gauden *might* know, that a faithful counsellor there *had* been, without knowing further that Juxon was he, it may well be questioned, I think, whether he could have dared to venture upon that final clause; "*He only hath been least vexed by them*," &c. How truly applicable, however, this is to the case of Juxon, we learn, sufficiently from a single sentence in Sir Philip Warwick. "Nay, even after the King's being driven from London, he remained at his house, belonging to his bishoprick, in Fulham, and sometimes was visited by some of the grandees," (for so the popular leaders now began to be stiled,) "and found respect from all, and yet walked steadily in his old paths [2]."

I cheerfully allow, that the King's pangs of repentance, for his unworthy yielding to the intrigues of traitorous counsellors, and to the madness of the people, might be sufficiently well known to Dr. Gauden. Still there is a special *practical* application made of them, in this same chapter, which, I think, may deserve a moment's notice.

[2] *Memoirs.* P. 95.

" Nor hath any thing more *fortified my resolution* against all those violent importunities which *since* have sought to gain a *like* consent from me to acts wherein my conscience is unsatisfied, than *the sharp touches I have had,* for what passed me in my Lord of Strafford's business."

This application of these sharp uses of adversity *might,* no doubt, but also, by possibility, it *might not,* have presented itself to the mind of Dr. Gauden. Whereas, it is a certain fact, that it *did* occur to the King. This may be collected from a short, but striking letter to the Marquess of Hamilton, never seen by Dr. Gauden.

" One thing more, (which, but for the messenger, were *too much to trust to paper,*) the *failing to one friend* hath indeed gone very near me: wherefore, I am resolved, that no consideration whatsoever *shall ever make me do the like.* Upon this ground I am certain that God hath either so totally forgiven me, that he will still bless this good cause in my hands; or, that all my punishment shall be in this world: which, *without performing what I have resolved,* I cannot flatter myself will end here[3]."

But, in truth, all this was in some sort the King's habitual sentiment. Witness a very emphatic passage from a still more striking letter, written in the true spirit of *Icôn Basilikè,* to his Queen.

" Now, as for those things in which thou and I do fully concur in judgment, as *not abandoning my friends; not taking the Covenant,* &c., the naming of them, I hope is enough to assure thee of my *constancy:* seeing thou art only afraid that I may be cozened in them, as I was concerning the *perpetual Parliament.* Indeed, with grief, I must acknowledge the instance: nor can I promise *not to do the like again,* when I shall, as *I then did,* suffer myself to sin *against my conscience.* For, the truth is, I was surprised with it, instantly

[3] Burnet's *Memoirs.* P. 203.

after I made that base, unworthy concession concerning Strafford; for which, and likewise for that great wrong and injustice to the Church, of taking away the Bishops' votes in Parliament, I have been most justly punished. Yet, I hope that God will so accept of my hearty, however weak, repentance, and *my constant adhering to my conscience*, that at last his mercy will take place of his justice. But, a new relapse, (such as abjuration of Episcopacy, or my engagement, without reserve, for the perpetual establishing of Presbyterial Government,) will both procure God's further wrath upon me, and also *make me inconstant in all my other grounds*, such a negligent despair must in such a case possess my spirit. Wherefore, Dear Heart, albeit thou mayest be sorry for my persuasion, yet I know that what I have said will make thee desire me, rather to *be constant*, than to change my resolution[4]."

Another circumstance, the King's purpose, or rather his pledge, not to continue Strafford in his employments, if his life might be spared, was matter of public notoriety, and so would be well enough known to Dr. Gauden. Still, this circumstance will not prevent my citing the first sentence of the King's private letter to the Earl, (never seen by Gauden,) and placing opposite to it the words of two short passages in *Icón Basilikè*. The resemblance which in this case strikes me as observable, is that of the *expression*.

"STRAFFORD,

"THE misfortune that is fallen upon you, by the *strange mistaking* and *conjuncture of these times*, being such that *I must lay* by the *thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs:* yet I cannot satisfy myself in honor

(1.) "I never met with a more unhappy *conjuncture of affairs*, than in the business of that unfortunate Earl: when between," &c.

(2.) "Not that *I resolved* to have *employed him in my affairs*, against the advice of my Parlia-

[4] Newcastle. Nov. 21, 1646. Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. II. P. 296.

or conscience, without assuring you, that upon the word of a King, *you shall not suffer in life,* honor," &c. Strafford's *Letters.* Vol. II. P. 416.

ment; but *I would not* have had any *hand in his death,*" &c.

II. The effects of the ill-advised measure, which is the subject of the *third* Chapter, *The King's going to the House of Commons to demand the Five Members,* are well known. The advantage which this rash step gave to his adversaries was such, that he was compelled speedily to abandon the prosecution altogether. What the precise nature of the charges would have been, and of the evidence by which they were to be substantiated, has always been looked upon as a matter of considerable historical nicety and obscurity. Clarendon has nothing definite upon the subject. In the King's Answer to the Parliament's Declaration of the 19th of May, (1642,) he speaks only generally of his "grounds" being such as, "*when they should be published,* would satisfy the world[5]." The charge of the Attorney-General is not much more particular[6]. Something further, however, has been ascertained by subsequent historians, and appears in some contemporary collections, subsequently published. Something, for instance, was known by Archbishop Laud[7], and something, perhaps, by Archbishop Williams[8]. And Nalson has told us, that "The King at his last

[5] *Parl. Hist.* Vol. II. P. 1286.
[6] Clarendon's *Hist. of Rebellion.* Vol. I. P. 555.
[7] *Troubles and Trial.* Vol. I. P. 83—5.
[8] Hacket's *Life of Williams,* fol. Part II. P. 163, 164.

being *in Scotland*, had gained informations there of the secret intrigues of the faction, and their contrivances to promote the Scottish Invasion and Rebellion; and that they were meditating the same course in England [9]." Now the remarkable circumstance is, that these subsequent discoveries harmonize entirely with the particulars which are dropped in the *Icón*. "Nor," says he, "had I any temptation of displeasure or revenge against those mens' persons, further than I had *discovered* those, as I thought, unlawful *correspondences* they had used, and engagements they had made *to embroil my kingdoms:* of all which I missed but little to have *produced writings under some mens' own hands*, who were the chief contrivers of the following innovations." Thus, it appears that the crime which was to have been charged, was of the nature of treasonable correspondence.

But, this obscure transaction has continued to be matter of curiosity and research even to our own times. Lord Hailes has given some documents, where it is, though darkly, referred to. Upon one of these, where mention is made, that the King is using endeavours, "to ensnare any English, whom he apprehends to have had any intelligence with us [1]." Lord Hailes subjoins the following note:

"This is a *very remarkable* circumstance. It cannot be fully explained, unless one were certain *what persons* of the English nation corresponded with the

[9] *Impartial Collection.* Vol. II. 810. fol.

[1] *Memorials and Letters relating to the Reign of Charles I.* Glasgow. 1766. P. 124.

Scots, and incited and encouraged their measures. He who can explain and illustrate this particular, from original papers, will greatly serve the cause of truth." Now, Mr. Laing has since taken considerable pains upon this point; endeavouring to illustrate it by papers drawn from repositories in Scotland. And, "Such," says he[2], "is the additional evidence which I have discovered respecting this obscure transaction." But, in p. 520, we have the following remarkable passage. After all his research, Mr. Laing is reduced to resort for help to the *Icón Basilikè*.

"Franklyn (Annals. P. 906.) and Nalson, (Vol. II. P. 810.) assure us, that the information against the six Members was obtained in Scotland, when the King was there: and although the *Icón Basilikè* be the composition of Gauden, yet, in the following passage, it may contain a court-secret:" and then he quotes the very words which I have given above, *I had discovered, as I thought*, &c.

Now, my Lord, I hold it is among the most improbable things in the world, that Gauden should possess a "court-secret," upon *any* subject; and much more, upon so intricate a transaction as the present. A state-secret we *may* have in these words: this I am not disposed to deny. But the question is, to whom are we indebted for the disclosure of it? Assuredly not to Gauden, a private Clergyman in Essex, not "a Court-Divine; (see above, p. 302, note.) but, to the King himself. And thus, I think, we may very fairly avail ourselves even of

[2] *Hist. of Scotland.* Vol. III. P. 518. edit. 2.

Mr. Laing's industry, and this his virtual confession, as furnishing no mean evidence that the *Icón* was his Majesty's.

I may mention, slightly, and as an additional confirmation of the tenor of our present argument, that if Lord Hailes had consulted the Clarendon *Papers*, (Vol. II. P. 157.) he would there have found, in a Paper revised by the King's own hand, that two of *the persons of the English nation who corresponded with the Scots*, were Lord Say, and Lord Mandeville, (Kimbolton.)

III. The subject of the next Chapter, is *The Tumults*.

In the Clarendon *Papers*[3], is a document, (it is the one I have just mentioned,) entitled, "The Sum of the Business delivered to Mons. D'Harcourt," (this was the French Ambassador,) "at his first coming to Oxford." From the similarity of the views in this State-Paper, to those which were afterwards developed by Lord Clarendon, in his History, I feel a strong persuasion, that it was the work of *his* pen. From like reasons of resemblance in turn of expression, and in sentiment, I think it extremely probable that it had been read by the author of the *Icón*. Now, it is certain, that this Paper was read and was revised by the King: for it contains additions and corrections, in several places, in the King's own handwriting. But who shall prove that it ever was seen by Dr. Gauden? Indeed, it is *a moral impossibility*,

[3] Vol. II. P. 157—163.

that the document, proper only for the bureau of a Minister of State, (among whose papers it remains to this day,) should ever have met the eye of a person situated as Gauden was.

In the multiplicity of our materials, it is not my purpose, though I think the argument an important one, to enter upon the *general* question of the *resemblances* between this document and the *Icón*. There is one passage, however, of a somewhat *minute* and *peculiar* character, which, for that reason, I shall notice.

"Who were the chief demagogues and patrons of Tumults," (the King is made to say, in the Chapter which we are now speaking of,) "to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, *some men, yet living*, are too conscious to pretend ignorance. God, in his due time, will let these see, that those were no fit means for attaining his ends."

Again: two pages lower.

"But this business of the Tumults, whereof *some have given already an account* to God, others *yet living* know themselves desperately guilty, time, and the guilt of many hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leave it, as it is."

And lastly:

"O Lord, give *them that are yet living* a timely sense and sorrow for their great sin, whom Thou knowest guilty of raising, or not suppressing those disorders."

Whoever the *chief demagogues* in these disgraceful proceedings may have been, (shall I say, with Archbishop Laud[4], "I would not tell you, if I did certainly know: but, wise men see that plain enough, without telling?") yet, assuredly, my Lord, there is something extremely emphatic and remarkable, de-

[4] *Troubles*, &c. P. 176, 167.

noting a more than ordinary adhesion to the idea, in the repetition of the mention, three times in about as many pages, of part of these persons being *still living*, and part *already dead*. This, I say, is remarkable; and it is further very observable, that precisely the same idea is recurred to, in the paper of *The Business delivered to Mons. D'Harcourt*.

"His Majesty's army was no sooner disbanded, according to promise, but new scruples and disputes were raised in Scotland, and agents employed from the schismatical party in England, (of which the Lord Say, and the Lord Mandeville, now Earl of Manchester, and some other persons, *since dead*, were chief,) to stir up and inflame that people." (P. 157.)

One person, intended by the expression of the *dead*, I doubt not, was Hampden, a death likely to make an impression upon the King. He was killed, June 18, 1643. Another, probably, was Pym, who died December 8, of the same year. The death of these persons, attended in both cases by remarkable circumstances, was likely to make a deep impression upon Charles; and it was likely to recur to *his* mind; and to that of his friends. But, I see no manner of probability, that this particular of "life" and "death," should so strike on the imagination of Gaudén, writing at a distance of four or five years after, as to be brought forward by him, as I have said, three times in about as many pages.

I have said that the death of such persons as Hampden and Pym was likely to recur both to the King's mind, and to that of his friends. With respect to the latter, I intended the expression, at the moment, to refer only to the Paper submitted to

Mons. D'Harcourt; but I now remember that it is applicable to another performance, the work of Lord Clarendon, and, like the preceding, seen also by the King. In the year 1648, an anonymous Tract (but acknowledged to be written by Sir Edward Hyde) was published, entitled, *A Full Answer to the Declaration of the Commons of England:* and there (p. 144) the death of Hampden, and others of the King's enemies, is referred to, in a manner not unlike to what we have seen in the *Icôn Basilikè*. Hence, we have a communion of minds, on one topic, in three distinct performances, which is every way easy and natural to be accounted for, supposing the *Icôn Basilikè* to be the King's.

But, this argument may be extended much further. Let any one read the *Icôn*, and Sir Edward Hyde's *Full Answer*, and he will not fail to observe a great communication of mind between them. Probably he will think this so great, as to be of opinion, that the latter piece must have supplied some hints to the former. Supposing, indeed, the King to be the author of *Icôn Basilikè*, and this resemblance between the two, might be intelligible and credible, even though the King might never have seen the *Full Answer:* but when we know that he did see it, and was thankful for it; then the resemblance spoken of, and the hints received by the King, are every way easy to be accounted for, and natural. On the other hand, if Gauden wrote the *Icôn Basilikè*, he having no acquaintance with Hyde, and their minds being as different as possible; nothing but a perusal and study of the *Full Answer* could have imparted

to his *Icôn*, and even that alone, in my apprehension, would most imperfectly have imparted those traits of resemblance of which I have spoken. But, now, of any such perusal or study on the part of Gauden, we have no evidence: and, as I have formerly remarked, he has no where displayed any special familiarity with the political writings of the times.

Thus, my Lord, we have two pieces, both written by Clarendon, and both, we think, seen by the Author of *Icôn Basilikè*. But both, we know, were seen, and considering the author, and the subject-matter, both probably were *studied*, (one, we know, was *revised*,) by the King. This latter, we know, could not be seen by Dr. Gauden: and the former, we do not know ever to have been seen by him. Take, therefore, the King to be the Author of *Icôn Basilikè*, and every thing now mentioned, and alluded to, is easy, obvious, and natural. On the other hand, suppose Gauden to be the Author, and we have difficulties, even under this single head of our argument, which it will need an Œdipus to account for.

We will now proceed to another passage in this same Chapter.

"Yea, some, who should have been wiser *Statesmen*, *owned them*" (the persons in the Tumults) "as *Friends*, *commending* their courage, zeal and industry."

Let us take a passage from Dr. Gauden in illustration of this extract.

"Hugh" (that is Hugh Peters) "boldly vindicated them in Dr. Gauden's hearing, for the Parliament's best *Friends*, *Quorum pars magna fuit*; he was their great Leader and Exciter [5]."

[5] Anti-Baal-Berith. 4to. P. 178.

Now, these two passages correspond, no doubt, in having the same word "friends," and that word used in a similar application. But there is no such correspondence in the persons who are represented as applying the term. Dr. Gauden would have given the passage in *his Icôn*, the same colours as he has here. But Hugh, without offence, was no *Statesman;* and he was just as far from being one to whom a King could apply the predicate, "wise." In truth, the writer of the *Icôn*, I doubt not, alludes here especially to Pym, a leading statesman; and who, as we learn from a work of Clarendon's, which we know was read by the King, said, "*God* forbid we should dishearten our *friends*, who came to assist us[6]." No: it is certain that our Author, whoever he was, had better information, than to need to be indebted to Hugh Peters. But, to proceed with Dr. Gauden.

"When great complaint was made by Lords and others, at a noble Earl's table, in the year 1641, when the tumults were most rude and outrageous, against King and Bishops, Lords and Commons, Earl of Strafford, and others, Hugh boldly vindicated them in Dr. Gauden's hearing."

Now, my Lord, *other* persons *are* spoken of as taking a lead in the Tumults against Lord Strafford; but I find no such mention of Hugh Peters. And, what shall we think, if, after all, he was at this time not in England, but in America? It is a certain fact that there he had been for six or seven years: and if we are to believe his own words, it should seem that he had not returned to England, in time to take

[6] Full Answer to an infamous and traitorous Pamphlet. 4to. 1648. P. 108.

any part in the Tumults which led to the execution of the Earl of Strafford. In his *Last Legacy*, we have the following account under his own hand.

"There," (i. e. in America) "I continued seven years, till sent here by the Plantation, to mediate for ease in Customs and Excise; the country being poor, and a tender plant of their own setting and manuring. But coming hither, I found the nation embroiled in those civil discontents, jars and *wars;* and here was forced to stay, though I had nothing to support me but the Parliament's promises." (P. 102).

Now, if the war was begun when Hugh came to England, this passage is decisive of the impossibility of the truth of Gauden's account: for, Lord Strafford was executed May 12, 1641, and the day on which the King reared his standard at Nottingham, was August 25, 1642, more than fifteen months after. And, shall it still be maintained, that Dr. Gauden was capable of writing *Icón Basilikè?* He is found totally wanting in the indispensable information. The thing is impossible.

IV. In the superabundance of materials by which we are surrounded, it is not easy to determine where to stop, nor is it easy to know what selection to make. We will pass now to the opening of the Seventeenth Chapter.

"Touching the government of the Church by Bishops (1), the *common jealousy* hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of *Piety*, as *Policy*, and *Reasons of State.*

"Wherein so far indeed (2) *Reason of State* doth induce me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impossible for a Prince to preserve the State in quiet unless he hath such an influence upon Churchmen, and they such a dependence on him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers' tongues; who with the keys of Heaven have so far the keys of the People's

hearts, as they prevail much by their oratory to let in or shut out both peace and loyalty.

"So that I being, as King, entrusted by God and the Laws with the good both of Church and State; I see no reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

"The removing Bishops out of the House of Peers, (of which I have elsewhere given an account), was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I incline to them for any use to be made of their votes in State Affairs: though indeed (3) I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not vote according to his conscience."

Here are *three* points, in this extract, on which I am desirous of offering a few words of illustration.

(1) First, by way of specimen of the common jealousy that the King adhered to Episcopacy, not out of a *Religious Conscience*, but from mere considerations of *Policy*, let us take a sample or two from the meek, considerate, and candid pen of a Scottish Divine, and Commissioner.

"Though he should swear it, no man will believe it, that he sticks upon Episcopacy for any Conscience[7]."

This was written to Alexander Henderson, then with the Scottish army and the King at Newcastle.

Again, from another Letter; where, in his pride and insolence, this person supposes himself to be speaking to the King.

"No oaths did ever persuade me, that Episcopacy was ever adhered to on any conscience. I esteemed all your debates on that subject, to be but ridiculous pretexts to gain time, till the last resolution came from your Masters beyond sea; and now, when it is come, are you so wise as to dream that the abolition of Episcopacy will give any satisfaction? . . Have you been so long in the Mortar, and beaten so much with the Pestle, and that folly is not yet driven

[7] Baillie's *Letters*. Vol. II. p. 205. Edinburgh, 1775.

from you? Be obstinate but a little more, and all here, without any more vexing of themselves, will let you take your will, and play the Fool, while you live[8].

But, it was not merely the King's "open enemies that did him this dishonor, for then haply he could have borne it." In a Letter addressed to Lord Jermyn and the other Counsellors of the Queen in France, intended also, no doubt, to be seen by her, the King has written,

"Albeit, my condition be sufficiently sad, yet it is made so strangely worse, by your misunderstanding the point of Church Government, whereby I am made the destroyer of my kingdom and family, that rather than undergo that burden, I will (laying all other considerations aside,) hazard to go to France, to clear my reputation to 351," (The Queen), "357, and all the world: that I stick not upon *scruples*, but *undoubted realities, both* in relation to *Conscience* and *Policy*. Indeed, this is a right way to make me a Papist[9]." He begins the same letter with telling them, "I have now deciphered (which when I wrote last I had not) and considered of the draught you sent me for an answer to the London Propositions; which I find to my inexpressible grief and astonishment, to be not only *directly against my conscience*, but absolutely destructive to your own *end*, which is *the maintenance of Monarchy*:"

A chance individual, however, who might happen to be present with the King, and to have an opportunity of witnessing the anguish and agony of his spirit, (it was not *intended* that *any* should be near him, whose heart was not case-hardened by the iniquity of the times), did, now and then, bear such testimony in his behalf, as we here find put into his mouth in the *Icôn*. Sir Robert Murray thus writes from Newcastle, to the Earl of Lauderdale.

[8] Ibid. P. 224.

[9] Newcastle, Sept. 21, 1646. *Clarendon Papers*. Vol. II. P. 265.

"First then, for Religion, I find his Majesty *really conscientious*, and not superstitiously *scrupulous*. Wherefore, until he be better satisfied, the uttermost he can be brought to is that he will be content that Presbyterial Government be generally established within this kingdom, by Act of Parliament, for three years[1]."

(2) The next particular which I would notice, in the above extracts, is, the King's concession, that he was actuated also by considerations of policy. "*Wherein so far indeed Reason of State doth induce me, &c.*" We saw the two united together in a Letter of the King, which we have just quoted. He affirms that he placed his reliance not "on scruples, but undoubted realities, *both* in relation to Conscience *and Policy*."

So again, in a Letter to the Prince.

"As I know that you are not now to learn, that the chiefest particular duty of a King is to maintain the true Religion, (without which he can never expect to have God's blessing), so I assure you, that this duty can never be right performed, without the Church be rightly governed; *not only*, in relation to *Conscience*, but *likewise* for the necessary subsistence of the Crown. For, take it as an infallible maxim from me, that as the Church can never flourish without the protection of the Crown, so the *dependency* of the Church upon the Crown is the chiefest support of Regal authority. This is that which is so well understood by the English and Scotch Rebels, that no concessions will content them, without the change of Church Government[2]."

I shall produce yet another passage upon this topic, and shall give it of an unusual length, for the sake of supplying a fair specimen for comparison of the King's private letters with the general tone of sentiment, and of composition in the *Icon*.

[1] Burnet's *Duke of Hamilton*. P. 282.

[2] *Clarendon Papers*. Vol. II. p. 254. Newcastle, Aug. 26, 1646.

" But, now let me warn you all," (this is written to Lord Jermyn, &c. in France), (" *I include my Wife and Son,)* truly to *deserve* that praise of *constancy*, which you *commend* in me. For, I am much deceived, if you be not *homer put to it*, than yet I have been. Wherefore, I conjure you, *by* your unspotted faithfulness, by all that you love, by all that is good, that no threatenings, no apprehensions of danger to my person, make you stir one jot from any *foundation*, in relation to that authority which 364 ' (the Prince)' is born to. I have already cast up what I am like to suffer; which I shall meet, by the Grace of God, with that constancy that befits me. Only I desire that consolation, that assurance from you, as I may justly hope that my *cause* shall not end with my misfortunes, by assuring me that misplaced pity to me do not prejudice my Son's right. And, mistake me not. For, I am in this so far from abandoning myself, that I believe this resolution is the best way for my preservation: however, that *no Man's person* ought to be put in balance with this *Cause.*

" Now: as for your advice to me; you speak my very soul in every thing, but one; that is, the Church. Remember your own rule—not to expect to redeem that, which is given away by Act of Parliament. Shall I then give away the Church? And excuse me to tell you, that I believe you do not understand *what this is*, that you are content (I confess, not upon very easy terms) I should thus give away. I will begin to shew you, *first*, what it is *in point of policy*: and first, *negatively*. It is not the change of Church Government which is chiefly aimed at, (though that were too much), but it is by that pretext, to take away the *dependency* of the Church from the Crown: which, let me tell you, I hold to be of equal consequence to that of the Militia: for, *People are governed* by *Pulpits*, more than the *sword*, in times of *Peace.* Nor, will the Scots be content with the alteration of Government, except the Covenant be likewise established; the which does not only make good all their former rebellions, but likewise lays a firm and fruitful foundation for such pastimes in all times to come. Now, for the *Theological* part. I assure you the change would be no less, and worse, than if Popery were brought in. For, we should have neither lawful Priests; nor sacraments duty administered; nor God publicly served, but ac-

cording to the foolish fancy of every idle person. And we should have the doctrines against Kings fierclier set up than among the Jesuits. In a word, set your hearts at rest. I will less yield to this than the Militia, my Conscience being irreconcileably engaged against it. Wherefore I conjure you as Christians to assist me in this also[3].

Your Grace will notice what is said about the People being governed by Pulpits, as applicable to the clause of their *prevailing by their oratory:* and the same sentiment I may slightly mention, occurs again, in the Letter of September 21, which I have already cited for another purpose. You will further judge whether such writing, as the above, deserves the character which is given of Charles's acknowledged Productions by Mr. Laing and others.

(3) With respect to the last clause of our present extract, I shall content myself with an illustration from Dean Barwick's Life of the venerable Bishop of Durham, Dr. Morton.

"I have heard this Reverend Bishop often magnify his Majesty's gracious disposition, who did not only *leave it free* by permission, but gave it *under a command* to him, (and I make no question to the rest of the Bishops likewise), that he should use the *liberty of his own Conscience*, in voting in Parliament[4]."

Gauden, to be sure, as we saw before, had derived some knowledge of part of the above circumstances, from Stephen Marshall. But, let his statement be consulted, and what is it in liveliness and reality of resemblance to the *Icôn*, when compared with that of these extracts, which we have received from

[3] Newcastle, July 22, 1646. Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. II. p. 243.
[4] 4to. 1660. P. 152.

the hand of the King; written too from the very *place*, and about the very *time*, when and where, I doubt not, this particular Chapter of the *Icôn* was composed?

Let us advert shortly to another passage of this same Seventeenth Chapter.

"Nor is this judgment of mine touching Episcopacy any pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit any oppositions against it. It is well known *I have endeavoured to satisfy myself* in what the chief Patrons for *other* ways, can say *against* this, or *for* theirs."

"Upon my word," says the King in a Letter to Lords Jermyn, &c. "I have *endeavoured* to be reconciled to their opinions[5]."

And again, Sir Robert Murray, in the Hamilton Memoirs, in reference to the same controversies:

"I assure you, his Majesty *is most willing* to hearken and seek after information, to the end he may *be satisfied*, how with a safe conscience he may give you full *satisfaction* herein[6]." Agreeably to which, we have it again under his own hand, "I assure you, I had not thus long delayed my answer, but to weigh fully those reasons and arguments which you have laid before me, whereby *to use the uttermost of my endeavours* to give you all possible *satisfaction* . . . And now I do earnestly desire you to consider, what it is that I desire, which is, *to be heard;* which if a King should refuse to any of his subjects, he would for that be thought a tyrant . . . Yet, let men say what they will, I am far from giving you a negative. Nay I protest against it; my only desire being to be heard. For, I am confident, that upon debate, I shall so *satisfy* them in some things, as likewise I believe they may *satisfy me* in many things, that we shall come to a most happy agreement[7]."

There is still another passage in this Chapter, which I wish to refer to.

[5] Newcastle, Sept 7. 1646. Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. II. p. 260.

[6] P. 282.

[7] Burnet's *Memoirs*. P. 285. Newcastle, Sept. 1646.

"Nor can *my late condescending to the Scots* in point of Church Government be rightly *objected* against me, as an inducement for me to consent to the like in my other kingdoms. For, it should be considered, that Episcopacy was not *so rooted and settled there*, as it is *here*: nor I, in that respect, so strictly bound to continue it in that kingdom, as in this. For, what I think in my judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

"If any shall impute my yielding to them as *my failing and sin*, I can easily acknowledge it: but that is no argument to do *so again*, or *much worse*, I being now more convinced in that point. Nor indeed hath my yielding to them been so happy and successful as to encourage me to grant the like to others."

Now, let the former of these paragraphs be compared with what Burnet has given as an abstract, drawn from his private papers, of the King's arguments upon this very same particular.

"They could not allege that against Episcopacy in England, which they pretended in Scotland; that it had never been fully, nor clearly *settled* in it; or that the stream both of Clergy and Laity, had run cross to it. The contrary of all that was clear in England; where Episcopacy was deeply rooted in their law. And ever since the Reformation, for eighty years together, the Church of England had flourished under Episcopacy, so that it was the wonder and envy of the world; till of late that some Brownists, and other sectaries, began to disturb its quiet. They knew, he declared, the grounds on which he dispensed with Episcopacy in Scotland, were not from his own judgment about it, but merely *to comply with their aversion* to it. But the case was very different in England. All *this he said* for giving them satisfaction: and it is the *sum* of what he *repeated* afterwards, upon the like occasions [a]."

But, if we prefer the having these sentiments under the King's own hand, let me allege the fol-

[a] Burnet's *Memoirs*. P. 189.

lowing passage, in his long letter from Newport to the Prince.

"We *were much pressed* with the argument, that we had declared Episcopacy *unlawful* in Scotland. But we shewed *unlawful* was an equivocal word: and that in the Scotch Act it implied no more, than that that Government was never *settled by law* in that kingdom: which occasions the expression in the Act, that Bishops were unlawful *in Scotland*. But, if Episcopacy had been unlawful *in itself*, it had been unlawful every where[9]."

The second of the two paragraphs I notice merely for its expression of the penitence of the King, on account of his consent to the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland. I question extremely the possibility of Gauden knowing at the time, any thing respecting a circumstance so secret, and home to the King's own bosom, as this. That the *Icón* gives a correct representation, *we*, indeed, know very well. First, because we can refer to one of the Prayers which the King delivered into the hands of Juxon, on the scaffold. There he expresses his deep contrition, that he "had suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of justice: and that he had permitted *a wrong way of worship to be set up in Scotland*, and had injured the Bishops in England." *We* know it also, (but where, I repeat, is the probability of Dr. Gauden knowing it, at the time?) in an equally emphatic shape, from a Life of the King, first published about ten years after the publication of the *Icón*.

"When the Rev. Dr. Morley, now Lord Bishop of Winchester,

[9] Clarendon *Papers*. Vol. II. P. 433.

whom he had sent for to the treaty in the Isle of Wight, where he employed his diligence and prudence to search into the intrigues and reserves of the Commissioners, had acquainted him how the Commissioners were the more pertinacious for the abolishing of Episcopacy here, *because his Majesty had consented to it in Scotland*, and withal told him what answer he himself had made to them, that perchance the King was abused to those grants, by a misinformation, that that Act which was made in King James's minority against Bishops, was yet unrepealed, and that his concession would but leave them where the law had; the King answered, It is true, I was told so. But, whenever you hear that urged again, give them this answer, and say that you had it from the King himself; that when I did that in Scotland, *I sinned against my conscience*: and that I have often repented of it; and hope that God hath forgiven me that great sin: and, by God's grace, for no consideration in the world will I ever do so again [1]."

Let us now proceed to another Chapter.

V. There is a short passage, in the *twenty-third, Upon the Scots delivering the King to the English, and his Captivity at Holdenby;* of which I am almost disposed to conjecture that I can point out, not only the *place*, but the very *day*, at least, the *occasion*, upon which it was written.

"What *they call obstinacy*," says he, "I know God accounts honest constancy; from which reason and religion, as well as honor, forbid me to recede.

"It is evident now, that it was not *evil counsellors with me*, but a *good conscience in me*, which hath been fought against: nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience."

There is a combination here so remarkable, of the terms "obstinacy," and "evil counsellors," not

[1] Perrinchief's *Life of Charles I.* P. 186. edit. 1727.

very gratifying expressions to the ear of a King, that I cannot but think it very possible, that the place in the *Icón* might be *suggested* by the uncourteous language of Harington, of which we have mention in an extract of a letter of intelligence, sent from Holdenby, for the information of Secretary Nicholas, and Sir Edward Hyde.

"March $\frac{18}{28}$, $164\frac{6}{7}$. The King perseveres most patiently and magnanimously in his principles, and lately worsted Sir James Harington in his own argument; which was, from the precedent of Rehoboam and Jeroboam, to prove the People's power to depose Kings. The most prejudicate persons about him acknowledge his Majesty to be of admirable parts. The Earl of Pembroke and Lord Montague, and other of the Commissioners, *blame Harington's rashness* in saying, It was *not* the *evil counsellors*, but his Majesty's *obdurateness*, the Parliament contended against[2]."

VI. The *twenty-seventh* Chapter, *To the Prince of Wales*, is an exceedingly beautiful and interesting one. Turn to the Clarendon *Papers*, (Vol. II. P. 253,) and I think we find the *germ* of this Chapter in a short Letter of the King, addressed to Prince Charles. Now, in this, and so many other like cases, already cited, and in many more which might be referred to, the material point in the value of our references, is, that none of these documents could have been seen by Dr. Gauden.

VII. I might prosecute this same line of argument to an almost indefinite extent. In turning over the leaves, I perceive there is hardly a page which would not supply some topic of illustration, connecting the

[2] Clarendon *Papers*. Appendix, Vol. II. P. xxxvii.

book with the King, and disconnecting it from Gauden, *as* pertinent, and as convincing to my own mind, as any which I have yet entered upon. But I must forbear, and will add only one instance more, and that, because it is in part suggested by the words in which the book terminates: *Vota dabunt, quæ Bella negârunt.*

Bishop Burnet, in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, has published a Poem, (which has since been printed in Percy's Ballads, and in other collections,) entitled, "*Majesty in Misery; or an Imploration to the King of Kings.*" Let any one read this copy of verses and the *Icôn*, and he will see reason to think, that it is in a very high degree probable, that the two productions had one and the same author. It is hardly possible to entertain a doubt on the subject. But, of the Poem, Burnet tells us, that part of his design having been "to publish such remains of the King's pen, *as had not been formerly seen or known*, I shall therefore insert," says he, "a copy of verses, written by his Majesty, in his captivity at Carisbrook Castle; which a *very worthy* gentleman, *who had the honor of waiting on him then*, and was much trusted by him, *copied out from the original*, who avoucheth it to be a true copy." This Poem, then, being unquestionably the King's; and as certainly not Gauden's, my intended inference from the present argument, with respect to the author of the other production, the *Icôn Basilikè*, is apparent, and the conclusion, I think, is irresistible. There can be no pretence, that the resemblances in the King's Poem are derived from Gauden's *Icôn:*

for that Poem, being written at Carisbrook, was written before the *Icón* (according to the account of the Gaudens,) had any existence, as respected the King.

Fatal, then, and decisive as this single argument must be regarded, unless the premises can be impugned—still, it is not my purpose to prolong the discussion, by entering upon the consideration of the several special resemblances, between the Verses and the *Icón*. I confine myself merely to one circumstance, of a more recondite and subtle nature.

It was a frequent practice with the King, as I have already mentioned, to write in his books and papers mottoes and short sentences, in the Latin, and other languages. Accordingly, the Poem of which I am speaking, has a sentence at the end, *Vota dabunt, quæ Bella negârunt;* the same sentence, that is, with which the *Icón* is terminated. Now, if the Poem and the Book were the compositions of the same person; and especially, if they were, (as we know *one* of them was,) the works of the King, it is very possible, that according to his practice, just mentioned, the two, having very much the same object, and being *written*, or at least *finished*, very much at the same time, should have the same legend subjoined.

But now, supposing Gauden to have been the author of *Icón Basilikè*—that he should think of subjoining to the *end* of his book, *any motto at all*, is not very probable: and, that he should hit upon precisely the same words, as had been used by the King, at the close of a Poem, never seen by Dr.

Gauden, and not known to the world till many years after Dr. Gauden's death,—this, in truth, would be one of the most improbable things in the universe. It is a problem in chances almost beyond the power of numbers to express. Gauden, it must be remembered, printed, (they tell us,) from a copy which never had been seen by the King.

Thus far, then, with respect to the comparison of the *Icón Basilikè*, with certain other *written remains* of the King.

But Gauden, too, it must be remembered, was an *author;* and he too has left behind him strong indications of *character*. Our question therefore now is, Do his writings and his character *correspond* to the claim of being author of *Icón Basilikè;* or, do they not?—What influence will a consideration of these respectively have upon our conclusions in this present argument?

Of Gauden's earliest writings, the four Sermons, and which were all that he had published any length of time, before the appearance of the *Icón*, I have already spoken with a considerable degree of respect.

But, what opinion shall we entertain of that other portion of his remains, of which we have heard so much; the correspondences with Lord Clarendon, and with the Earl of Bristol, so intimately connected with his pretensions in the matter of the *Icón?* These, assuredly, are very remarkable documents; and they are very *characteristic* ones. I grant, they are not favorable specimens of his talents as an author: and yet they are so much in

his stile and manner, that it is impossible, (arguing merely from *internal* evidence,) to admit any doubt of their being his. Also, as I have said, they certainly go a great way, in lifting up the veil to Gauden's *character*. Now, read these letters, and compare them with the *Icôn*. Take any one of them, and place it side by side with any chapter of that book, and what can we think? Certainly these have a nearer connexion, in the nature of their subject-matter, than any other two works of Gauden: and, therefore, are very fair subjects for comparison. Suppose both collections to be from the same person, and with what an extraordinary set of phænomena are we presented! We have two pictures of Solitude and Suffering, drawn by the same hand: one is real, and *his own:*

"They best can paint them, who shall feel them most;"

the other, imaginary, dramatic, forged, fictitious, and *of his Sovereign*. In the latter, the Author, therefore, is in the situation of an artist set to draw the portrait of a person whom he had never seen. This is difficult enough. But we are presented with still greater mysteries. The fictitious Picture (how contrary to all the principles of Philosophical Rhetoric!) is in every respect appropriate, sincere, natural, beautiful, awakening all our generous sympathies, and claiming the tribute of profound reverence and love; while in the real Picture, every thing is base, sordid, proud, disgusting, treacherous, execrable. In the Letters, he cajoles, flatters, threatens, cringes, complains, and all for what? Truly, because he thought he had not been *enough considered in his present disposure*

at Exeter. In the *Icôn*, he has presented us with an exquisite piece of moral painting; which, in no one trait or feature, has the most fastidious Critic ever been able to question. How is this to be accounted for?—In fact, if there were nothing else to rely upon, no one, I think, can read those Letters, and this Book, and not be constrained to exclaim,—"It is morally impossible! This Man *did not, could not*, write the *Icôn Basilikè*."

Gauden's writings are both numerous and large. It will not be practicable for us to enter upon any particular investigation of all his several productions. I must content myself with saying *generally*, that after a pretty extensive examination, I have already gone to the utmost of what I *can* conscientiously offer, favorable to Gauden, whether as a writer in *general*, or with respect to his qualifications for writing the *Icôn Basilikè* in *particular*: while I must add, that from every one of them, I might derive observations, corroborative of any thing which has fallen from me, that is most unfavorable to his pretensions of being author of the King's Book.

But, it may be suggested perhaps, that ten or twelve years, the interval between the date of the *Icôn* and of the Letters, is a long time, and great changes may have taken place, in a man's way of writing or of thinking, during its progress; especially as it had been a dark and dismal season, in which the aspect of all things in England had become unlovely. Be it so. Gauden may have caught the taint. He may have been struck by the moral epidemic. Let us

enquire, therefore, for something less remote, with which we may institute our comparison.

It happens, remarkably enough, that *at the very time* when the *Icón* was in the Press, Gauden was printing a short tract, at the shop of the same publisher, Royston: and it is further fortunate, that we are in possession of another piece somewhat longer, written, as he tells us, only ten days after the King's murder; that is, ten days *after the publication of the Icón.* Thus we find materials arise in quarters much nearer to the scene of action, than could reasonably have been anticipated. Let us enquire, therefore, what can be inferred from these two contemporaneous performances. We shall see that from their subjects, they are of a description the most appropriate possible for our purposes.

The first tract is entitled, *The Religious and Loyal Protestation of Dr. John Gauden, D.D. against the present declared purposes and proceedings of the Army and others, about the trying and destroying of our Sovereign Lord the King.* (4to. 1648). This tract was written January 5, when the Commons had now determined to proceed capitally against their Sovereign; and it was presented (by the hands of Colonel Whalley), to General Fairfax, and the Council of Officers. It is a loyal tract, composed for the express purpose of pleading for the life of King Charles. And yet it is no very mighty effort of loyalty: for, the Presbyterian Ministers and others were doing the same: persons, who like himself, had spared no pains, (in the *event*, if not in the *design*) to bring the

King into danger, and the country into misery: and now, finding the Monarch snatched out of their hands, by their hated enemies, the Independants and the Army, and being disappointed of their *prey*, shall I call it, or their *prize*, would raise a feeble clamour to save his life, without shewing any disposition to revive the liberties of their country, or restore that Constitution which they had destroyed. It was, I say, no great effort of extraordinary, or of generous loyalty. Indeed, I believe it to be a time-serving party-book, almost as much as any he ever wrote. I question very much, whether we should ever have seen it at all, had he not looked to please the Presbyterians by the effort, and his patron the Earl of Warwick. "That Nobleman," we find, "and the Mariners with him, soon after, sent letters to the Parliament, that if they did proceed any further against his Majesty, or do the least violence to his person, they should make all those people their enemies [3]."

But, let us give Gauden every degree of credit that is possible. If any thing could flow from his pen, clear of secular taint, let this Piece be of that character.

It was written, as I have said, at the very time, when the sheets of the *Icôn* were passing through the press. Gauden had delivered his mind of the precious stores which that Book contained. But, unwearied in doing good, he will leave no possible means untried. He will make a new effort; and

[3] Carte's *Ormond Letters, &c.* Vol. I. p. 212. 8vo.

this shall be in his own name and person. Those particular topics which could best be urged, under the King's character, would already have found their natural place in the *Icôn*. But, you can often say for a friend, that which he cannot, without a violation of decorum, say for himself. The very advantage of having trodden the other ground before, would suggest hints of more than ordinary effect and pertinency, in the new design. He who had performed that part so well, when he now comes to urge kindred topics in his own proper character, will assuredly speak with a voice of dignity and power; no longer embarrassed by any dread of detection; feeling no apprehensions of the possibility of injuring the cause so dear to his heart, and of betraying, by his pious fraud, him whom he meant to serve, and to save. Exempted, I say, from all the difficulties by which his mind before was depressed and shackled, he will now dilate himself in great enlargement of spirit. He will appeal to, and will appal the bad. He will arouse and animate the good. The hearts of the people shall be all turned as the heart of one man, towards their deeply injured King.

But is this so? Truly, my Lord, I cannot find it. I see nothing like it.

The *Religious and Loyal Protestation* was written, no doubt, in haste; which (very different from the manner of the *Icôn)* was Gauden's usual way of writing. But, even with allowances on that account, it is a poor and meagre performance; at once feeble and diffuse; and quite unworthy of the subject and

the occasion. As might be expected, some of the same topics are touched upon as we have in the *Icôn*; but I cannot discern any signs whatever of the Protestation being the work of the same person, who had now that other Book at the press. As Dr. Gauden certainly wrote one Book in behalf of the King, I argue, (such is that Book), that he could not at this same time be giving the finishing touches to, rather I argue that he could have no hand at all in, the *Icôn Basilikè*.

Yet, (I confess) *something* more,—it is but *a very little*,—must be allowed. The utmost connexion, I think, that we can infer from this Tract, between Dr. Gauden and the *Icôn*, is, that there is ground for a probable conjecture, that he had received some intimation that a Book of that kind had been composed by the King: and, perhaps, he might know further, that the Book was now in the Press.

An extract may probably be looked for, as a specimen, and by way of confirmation and warrant for what I have said. Perhaps, therefore, I cannot do better, than to produce that passage to which I have last alluded, as, in some measure, answering two purposes.

I think then, that Gauden had probably some knowledge of the existence of such a Book as the *Icôn*, when he wrote the following:

"Methinks I hear his Majesty in his agony, SOLITUDE, and expectation of an enforced death, *calling to me, and all other his subjects.*

"You that never believed my life was sought after in the bottom of this war, but my safety and honor. You that never fought for me, yet professed to abhor the fighting destinately against me; or

destroying of me, cannot you, dare not you, now speak one word to save my life, and your own souls? Shall your silence seem to encourage, and make up their suffrages, who therefore pretend they may, and will destroy me, because it pleaseth you, and the generality of my people?"

I suspect, I say, from the tenor of this extract, that Gauden might have seen, or have heard of Meditations of the King in his "agony and solitude." But, even in these few words, put into the mouth of Charles, (a specimen, therefore, of the kind of *Icôn*, which Gauden would have produced), I will venture to say, there is more savor of *Gaudenism*—(if I may use the term), more of Gauden's manner of language and of sentiment, than can be found in the whole volume of the *Icôn Basilikè*, taken together: and therefore from this *particular* passage, as well as from the general tenor and character of this contemporaneous production, and its total inferiority to the King's Book, I am persuaded that the *Icôn* is none of Bishop Gauden's. I ventured to affirm before, that if Gauden had compiled the *Apophthegmata Caroliniana*, with me this fact would have been an argument *against* his writing the *Icôn:* and now I deduce a similar inference from his being the undoubted Author of the *Loyal Protestation.*

But I mentioned another Book, The Στρατοστηλιτεύτικον, or, *Just Invective against those of the Army and their Abettors, who murthered King Charles I.* This, he tells us in the title-page, was written on the 10th of February, immediately after the murder; and in the preface to an edition, printed in 1662, he gives the following further particulars.

" I wrote this piece, *(flagrante dolore)*, in the first paroxysms of extreme grief and horror, immediately upon the murther of the late excellent King (1648); as soon as the astonishment of sorrow gave leave to regular thoughts and words to vent themselves. I sent it *(incognito)* in its sackloth and ashes to London, where I hoped it might find way to public view. My aim was, not only to gratify my own, and the nation's vehement passion, by expressing a just indignation against that prodigious villainy; but to represent in true colours that horrid sin and shame of killing the King, whereof some men then were so impudent as to glory. And since I could not divest them from that flagitious fact by such Loyal and Religious Remonstrances" (He refers here to the *Protestation)* " as I sent them, I thought it high justice to take this vengeance on them; either to bring the authors and abettors, if possible, to repentance; or, to preserve others from partaking of their sins and plagues, by any after comprobation of their then prosperous impiety, so as to make it the sin and shame of the nation.

" But, my papers found no hand so adventurous in those tyrannous times as to print them; although conveyed to a person, who had hazarded and suffered much in that way of loyal service and danger. So that, having no copy left of it, I did not see it, or hear of it, for many years, supposing it had perished in the common shipwreck of those days: until this February 1661" (i. e. 1661-2) " meeting with Mr. Dugart (to whom I first sent it), and enquiring what became of such a piece he told me it was printed, and brought me the book, with a new title (tragical enough) put to it, (viz. Cromwell's *Bloody Slaughter-house discovered, &c.)* whereas I had inscribed it, after the example of Gregory Nazizenzen, when he wrote his two sharp invectives against Julian the Apostate, Στρατοστηλιτευτικον, the *Steliteutick* of that army, justly arraigning and condemning them that were guilty of that bloody and barbarous fact, which I hereby exposed, as upon a public pillar, to the view and execration of all men.

" When I had thus recovered this piece beyond all expectation, I well remembered upon review its pristine lineaments; and found it signally marked with the sad drops of my passionate heart and pen, upon such an occasion in which no ink could be black enough, or

have too much salt, vinegar, gall, or *aquafortis* in it. Upon a calmer view of it (after thirteen years absence), finding it to have something in it of a confused rapture, not misbecoming so intensive a grief, and so pious impatience, with an unfeigned abhorrence worthy of so abominable a fact, and monstrous a scandal to our nation and religion, I have been persuaded by the printer to own it as a legitimate issue of mine, with some other pieces born in the same storm, though in another stile and language, in order to make him some compensation for his first, but not so beneficial, loyal printing of it, while yet it appeared an orphan or fatherless, because nameless. I am now content my name be called upon it."

Let this account be true, or let it be not, I am willing to take the argument either way: and from this second tract, I conclude, with increased confidence, that Gauden *did not*, and *could not*, write the *Icôn Basilikè*.

First, my Lord, let this be as he says. Let Gauden have written this Book immediately after the murder of the King, and the publication of the *Icôn;* then I do not hesitate to maintain, that we have here a fresh, and insuperable moral impossibility that he could be the author of the King's *Meditations*[4].

To do full justice to this position, it might be proper to establish it, by two distinct species of ar-

[4] It is of this Book, that the Bishop speaks as follows, in a Letter to the Earl of Bristol.

"I thank God I was not unconspicuous, but sufficiently known to all the English world by those many great and public works I had done, in my sphere, to the hazard of my estate, liberty and life, in order to preserve and restore the just interests of the Church and Crown, in the worst of times and things. One *instance of which I herewith send your Lordship, which perhaps you have not seen; by which I did not only perstringe, but openly affront the Army, in their greatest insolency.* Both enemies and friends saw me always standing in the gap, &c." Todd's *Life of Walton*, I. p. 143. How disingenuous, how remote from truth is it, to speak thus of a Book, which, by his own account, the army never saw!

gument; the one, evincing the total incongruity and incompatibility of the *moral* tone and tenor of this Book with that of the *Icôn;* and the other manifesting the entire *historical* incompetency of the writer for the latter performance.

Having, however, already given a *taste* of the moral qualities of the *Invective,* when I was contrasting its fierce, blustering, and revengeful temper, with the Christian spirit of meekness and forgiveness in the *Icôn* and in the King, I shall now confine myself solely to the *second* branch of the argument; premising only, that the Invective, considered in all its moral relations, is throughout of a piece with that specimen. In every respect, it is one of the most disgusting and odious productions that ever proceeded from the evil heart of man.

I affirm then, that from the *historical* mistakes and disqualifications of this Book, its Author could not, at the same moment, have produced that work, which I maintain to be faultless in this respect, the *Icôn Basilikè.*

I shall rest this argument merely upon one or two passages.

We are to remember, that the writer is addressing the Army.

"But you like so many *Ravilliacks,* are not content to have spoiled so many noble and flourishing families, to have exhausted so many plentiful estates, to have made so many mourning widows, and fatherless children, to have destroyed the lives, and sucked the blood of so many Christians, your fellow subjects; but you must *in one day* swallow up the two houses of Parliament; *in another* murther the King; in *a third* cut off the right and inheritance of the Crown

from the undoubted Heir, and all the King's Children. *At last*, you conspire to tempt us all by your simple and foolish paper, falsely called *The Agreement of the People*, to join with you in the utter overthrowing of our laws, liberties, and the whole frame of this ancient and renowned kingdom, whose weight you will find too heavy for such weak *Atlases* as you will shortly appear[5]."

"In one day you swallow up the two houses of Parliament." I presume the allusion here is to the violence used on the 6th of December, and the following days, (which vulgarly goes by the name of Colonel Pride's Purge): but, when he speaks of the "two houses," and makes use of the term "swallow up," I will venture to say that there is no passage so vaguely, and so inaccurately expressed, in the whole *Icón*. But this I will not insist upon. "In *another* you murther the King; in a *third* you cut off the right heir." But, how is this? In fact, these two events occurred on the same day. It was in the morning and the afternoon of the fatal 30th, that the Commons met, read three times, and passed, an Act, "to prohibit any one from proclaiming Charles Stuart, the Son, or any other person to be King, or Chief Magistrate of England and Ireland, without the consent of Parliament, under pain of being adjudged a traitor to the Commonwealth." But, with respect to the other particular, "*At last* you conspire, &c." This is more extraordinary still. "Dec. 11," Whitlock tells us, "the houses sate not, but to the General, and General Council of the Army was presented a new *Representative*, or, *An Agreement of the People*,

[5] P. 5, 6.

propounded as a Rule for future Government;" and on the 20th of the following month, it was finally presented to the House of Commons, along with a petition from the General, and the General Council of the Army bearing date January 15[6]. Instead, therefore, of being the *last*, this was the first act of those mentioned. And thus we have two or three chronological inaccuracies and blunders, in the space of about as many lines; and of events occurring at the very moment: and, therefore, I think, we need go no further in this line of argument. How could such a person write a Book, comprising the events of many years, and perfectly free, as the *Icón* is, from the slightest chronological embarassment?

But I am about to allege more grave and fatal matters still; and these will bring us a second time to the consideration of this Invective. I believe the account which Gauden has given us of this tract is not true.

I said that I must speak, not only of the writings, but also to the *Character* of Gauden, as well as of the King; with the view of ascertaining what illustration some consideration of that might give to our present undertaking.

The *great*, rather the *only*, difficulties of *any* kind as against the King, are the *positive claim* of Gauden, and the *silence* of Clarendon. This latter we have already considered, upon its own merits, at large. But it is further apparent, that its value is essentially

[6] *Parliamentary History.*

dependant upon the former. If *that*, the *foundation*, gives way, it is evident that *this*, the *superstructure*, (for, I find no ground of *evidence* whatever for Clarendon's silence, but the Letters of Gauden) must fall. I come now, therefore, my Lord, to a serious, and very painful part of my duty. I have to impeach the *moral character* of Dr. Gauden. I fear the proofs are in my hand, that in his own case, he is not a trustworthy witness. In an affair of self-interest, his word cannot be received, unless supported by independent testimony, without a more than ordinary degree of caution.

First, I may remark, that from the very nature of Gauden's claim, he stands before us in a predicament, which entitles us to regard every thing that proceeds out of his mouth upon this subject, with a large share of incredulity. We have him hung upon the horns of his own dilemma. If he were the author of the *Icón*, confessedly, the very purpose and basis of his work is imposture; and its structure is a tissue of a thousand, thousand falsehoods. The forgery too is one accompanied by many characters of a peculiarly daring and desperate kind. Fictitious retirements to the awful presence, and all-seeing eye of God, are to be abused as the means of recommending a worm of the earth to his fellow-creatures. Now, the man who voluntarily lays claim to have done all this, and prosecutes his claim, without any expression of diffidence, compunction, or shame, nay, glorying and vaunting in the deed, does he not, in so doing, betray such a want of moral sensibility, such a perver-

sion of Conscience, that he has no right to complain, if we regard whatever he may say or do, to obtain our belief, with much suspicion and doubtfulness?

But, in another view, this claim issues from a most corrupted fountain. Gauden will tread back his steps: all that he had effected, is to be hazarded, or undone; the very first purpose of his fraud is to be abandoned and betrayed; and for what? In order to his own aggrandisement; in order to procure to himself a wealthier bishoprick. Nor, was it because the scheme had failed, that the fiction is now to be pulled in pieces, and scattered to the winds. No such thing. Exactly the reverse. We have seen in what terms he himself extolled the effects of the atchievement to Lord Clarendon. Now, my Lord, if (according to one account), the King had been consenting to this fraud, and prized the gift,—must that also be now ravished from him? Must his counterfeit merits accompany his real ones, and he be left bankrupt of all? Thus much, at least, is true: the *original conception* of the work did not come from the King. He did not prompt it. He was tempted, and he yielded to the temptation: and yet, perhaps, this was as much for the sake of some expected benefit to his Subjects, after all his other efforts had failed; as for any service he looked for from it to himself. And, shall his secret now be betrayed, by the very sole contriver and tempter? Alas! is not this too like the part of him, *who was a liar from the beginning*, not to justify our belief of almost any thing else respecting him?

But, take the account according to the *other* supposition, that the King was not cognisant of the fraud, but that it was transacted by Gauden, on his own responsibility, "out of a just and generous loyalty," as he himself expresses it.—And, shall then the friend in need, he who had undertaken to personate his Sovereign, and act his part in scenes of the highest and most awful import; and who has personated him, with a degree of success, at which the world stands amazed,—is it possible, that this man can reverse the whole, take back what he had given, unsay all his just and generous loyalty, and hand himself over to endless disgrace and ignominy, doing all this only for his own secular aggrandisement? Was it possible for any man to have acted thus, who had a soul to conceive, and a hand to endite the *Icôn Basilikè*?

And, for a moment let me observe, the testimony of Mrs. Gauden also, proceeds from a fountain equally impure. She, poor lady, we may fear, has unveiled a large portion of herself, as well as of her partner, when she let fall this expression, "Her husband hoped to make his fortune by it:" and when she says, "he was not willing that what he had done should be buried in oblivion, in regard he had four sons living; and they, if he should die, might be capable of his Majesty's favor." These things she mentions with evident approbation and complacency: and so proves herself an apt disciple in the same school. I doubt very much whether we should ever have had any testimony from her at all, had it not

been, that she might be a *Clavis* to the family, as she tells her favourite son John; to qualify him and them, to prosecute the claim privately, and for the like purposes, which their father had done. Indeed, scarcely was her unhappy husband in his grave, before she began to ply Lord Bristol, on the score of the *Icón*, with petitions for his help, in behalf of herself, and her fatherless children.

And lastly, Dr. Walker also. For more than forty years he kept the secret from the world, and yet he thinks that God was displeased both with him and Gauden, for their share in the work. Does he now therefore disclose it to unburthen his conscience; or from a love of truth? No. One may gather from his own words, that we should have had no open confession, that he would still have kept all in the dark, had he not been provoked to vindicate his own character, by Hollingworth, the Aldgate Doctor.

But let us return to prosecute our enquiries into the *Character* of Dr. Gauden.

I might be indebted, in this undertaking, for some remarks, to Bishop Kennett. He tells us,

"Gauden was capable of underwork. I took it once from the mouth of *a very eminent Primate*, that there was, in 1662, a Declaration for Liberty of Conscience extending to Papists, drawn up, and some printed copies of it worked off in a press within Somerset-House, though presently called in. And, what was the worst circumstance, the draught of it was framed by a Bishop of the Church of England, even by Dr. Gauden, then Bishop of Exeter; who had made himself a tool of the Court, by the most sordid hopes of greater favor in it[7]."

[7] *Register.* P. 775.

But I chuse rather to rest solely upon such instances of Gauden's conduct, as have presented themselves to my own observation.

I have used the terms *ambition* and *envy* respecting him. In truth, the diseased condition of Gauden's mind in the prosecution of his secular designs, is lamentably apparent. Nor is he content with vain-gloriously extolling and exalting himself, (of which the most disgusting examples might be produced), but if ever there was an instance of a man seeking Pharisically his own elevation, by endeavouring to depress others, it is Dr. Gauden.

Out of the same school with him came two Divines at the Restoration, Dr. Edward Reynolds, and Dr. Cornelius Burges. It should seem to have been principally on this account, that he brought himself into special comparison with these two individuals: and that, therefore, fearing they might outstrip him in the race of court-favour, they are peculiar objects of his envy and jealousy.

He cannot hide his feelings about the *former*, even when writing to recommend himself to the Prime Minister. Reynolds had been appointed Bishop of Norwich; and, therefore, Gauden (now Bishop of Exeter) says, "True, I played this best card in my hand something too late; else *I might have sped as well as Dr. Reynolds* and some others; but I did not lay it as a ground of ambition, nor use it as a ladder." And in his life of Hooker, speaking of Dr. Reynolds, the Puritan Champion at the Hampton-Court conference, he steps out of his way, to reflect upon his

namesake of Norwich in the following ungenerous and malignant expressions. "*This* Dr. Reynolds, *though neither tempted nor rewarded with a Bishoprick*, fully conformed to the Church of England, and advised others so to do." (P. 9.) In what terms of virulence he has spoken of the *latter*, may be seen abundantly in his *Anti-Baal-Berith;* and no small part of the secret motive for it, I verily believe he has betrayed, where he says, "Notwithstanding, Dr. Burges himself, as yet *not despairing to be a Bishop, by hook or by crook*, mightily interceded, so far as to be suspended from sitting in the Assembly (of Divines) by the House of Commons." (P. 90). Probably Gauden hated Burges the more for having conscientiously protested against that Covenant, (for this was the cause of his *suspension,)* which he himself (as I believe) had taken.

Nay, this modest, disinterested man, he who had done to Cromwell, that very thing which he censures in them, does not scruple to attack even entire Universities, that he might sweep all obstacles out of the way of the career of his ambition, by wholesale. Witness the following insolent and bombastic common-place, in which he indulged himself, nearly two years after the Restoration.

"Public Threnoidies from either University I never heard of, as to this subject," (he is speaking of the death of Hooker), "who deserved much more than many of those whom the sick and flattering Muses sometime sought to deify, living and dead: stooping so low, in our latter times, as to bring spices and sweet odours" (he alludes to the Academic *Luctuses* and *Gratulationes* to the Cromwell Family) "to the putrid carcasses, and worser consciences of the most

impudent traitors, and flagitious Regicides in the world. Yet these men's rotten names must, forsooth, be embalmed by the joint tears of our degenerated Universities, which deserve to be washed with new ones. For, to praise men of blood, hypocrisy and cruelty, when dead, is as much to adopt the guilt of their sins, as to bid them *God Speed*,[s] when living. Nothing is a more abject and insolent way of flattery, than to set the body of virtue, which is honor and commendation, upon the Devil's sleeve; or to put the impress and matter of praise upon the banners of schism and sedition." P. *38*.

A man who can act as Gauden acted, and afterwards talk like this, what is there that we can think he will stop at, to gain his ends?

But, once more; let us take an example from one of his Letters to Lord Clarendon. London, as we saw, "a great leap at the first," was the object of his unfledged ambition. But when that was gone, and seeing that Duppa was old and ailing, he will try his hand upon *Winchester*. It is not *too big* for him, (he thinks), if it will *fit* other men. And, if nothing else will avail, he will endeavour to gain his purpose, by tempting the Prime Minister with a proposal not very unlike Simony. Or, again, if even that will not do, he will advise the dismemberment of the Bishoprick in hopes of getting a slice of it, to add to what he had before. But it is disgusting to follow him through these odious details. I refer to the Letters themselves. Only, I repeat it, what can we think, the man who talks and acts thus, will scruple at to attain his ends?

[s] Was there nothing extant at this very time, like a *God Speed*, under his own hand? Witness the following speaking of a scheme that he was himself recommending to the Government, in Nov. 1556—"which," (says he) "chiefly depends *(under God)* upon that favour and approbation (at least permission and indulgence) which they may obtain *from his Highness* and this Council."—Thurloe *State Papers*, Vol. 5. p. 601.

Let us come now to one or two particulars, more immediately affecting the question of Dr. Gauden's *veracity*.

There is a circumstance in his life, which makes a considerable figure in Gauden's writings; his nomination to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. In his *Tears and Sighs of the Church of England*, he tells us, that "he was, by he knows not what sleight of hand, shuffled out of that Assembly, to which he was as fully chosen as any; and never gave any refusal to sit with them, *further than his judgment was sufficiently declared* in a Sermon preached at the first sitting of the Parliament, to be for the ancient and Catholic Episcopacy[9]." This Book, I should mention, was written when it had now become apparent, that the yoke of mixt tyranny and anarchy could no longer be endured. The heart of the nation was thoroughly sick of the dreary scenes through which they had passed; and all saw, that there was no hope of getting again into the right way, but by returning, if possible, to the point from which they had started, before their wanderings. That is, it was apparent, that the Monarchy and the Church must be restored. It is very discernible, from this work, that Gauden perceived what must ensue: and it is equally obvious, from many parts of it, that he would not spare his pains to stand well with the restored government. The mention of his nomination to the Assembly of Divines, and his sub-

[9] P. 377. 1659. folio.

sequent rejection, appears to have occurred to him to borrow one of his metaphors, as no bad "card to play." It was creditable to his importance, to be able to tell, that he had not been passed by, but was thought of, and chosen: and it would be still more creditable and serviceable, in the new state of things, that it should be known, that he had been shuffled out again; because he was not a man for the desperate designs of the rebellious faction; and was a favorer of moderate Episcopacy.

One of Gauden's adversaries, desirous of lowering his pretensions, positively denies the fact of this nomination; and, in proof, appeals to the Ordinance by which the Assembly was summoned, and to the names of the three Divines chosen for Essex, (viz. Marshall, Sedgwick, and Newcomen) which there appear.

Gauden replies, "The error of the audacious libeller is this, Dr. Gauden had then a benefice in Cambridgeshire, not in Essex." He repeats the assertion, that he was nominated; "yet afterward, by some close Committee, who were the scrutineers of the elect, Thomas Goodwin was put in for John Gauden; alleging this reason, that they perceived by Dr. Gauden's Sermon before the House of Commons, at their first sitting, he was not for their design, the rooting up of Episcopacy; but only for the regulation of it[9]."

But, how can all this be? There is something

[9] Anti-Baal-Berith: or the binding of the Covenant. 4to. 1661. P. 89.

here very difficult to account for. In the first place, Thomas Goodwin does not appear in the Ordinance, as of *Cambridgeshire;* but as "Thomas Goodwin of *London,* Bachelor in Divinity." Again, the Ordinance, to summon the Assembly of Divines is dated June 12, 1643: and they held their first meeting, July 1, the same year. It is certain that Gauden *had then a benefice* in Essex. He was collated to Bocking, April 1, 1642[1], fourteen months before: and his vicarage of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire, he resigned immediately on receiving the presentation to Bocking; his successor being instituted, as appears in the Register of Bishop Hall, April 22, of the same year, 1642. However, to make the best for Dr. Gauden, I am willing to allow, that the intention of summoning the Assembly was entertained some time before it actually did meet; and, therefore, any thing that is true in his statement, must have related to those earlier purposes. Still, his account is extremely unsatisfactory and grossly inaccurate; and, after all, it is certain, that he takes a great deal more credit than he is entitled to; for, without any *shuffling,* he could not have sit for Cambridgeshire, when the Assembly was convened, for his benefice had then been for more than a year in Essex.

But, he was *shuffled out,* he knows not how; and that, because he was favorable to a moderated Episcopacy. And yet, Usher and Sanderson, and Hammond and Morley, and Holdsworth, and other Epis-

[1] Laud's *Troubles, &c.* Vol. I. P. 194.

copal Divines, and two other Bishops, (Brownrig and Westfield), were nominated, and were not shuffled out. We read their names to this day, in the list, in which we look in vain for Dr. Gauden. Very well! and so much the more to his credit, that he should be dreaded, and therefore rejected; where those eminent Loyalists and Episcopalians were admitted and tolerated. They feared him more than all: and the reason *why* is sufficiently clear. They stood in awe of the eloquence which still rang in their ears; the eloquence and learning which had been poured out in vindication of Episcopacy, at the beginning of the Parliament.—Your Grace will have a curiosity to see one or two of these boasted and wonder-working passages. In these present, not very satisfactory times, and when some members of Parliament need a good share of discipline, the Episcopal Divines may not dislike to borrow a hint or two from this Son of Thunder. Alas! my Lord, will it be believed, that the passages are flown? They are not in the bond. I can assure your Grace, Episcopacy is no topic there. It is most certain, that if there be nothing said in that Sermon *against* Episcopacy, there is not a single word *for* it. Though I do not say the Sermon is intemperate considering the times, yet it contains many smart passages against the real or imputed policy and proceedings of Archbishop Laud, and of the King. The Sermon is altogether such as might well come from a Chaplain of the mal-content Earl of Warwick: and it is such, that the House of Commons were so well

pleased, that they voted him, (what at the same moment, they refused to Dr. Morley), the *Honorarium* of a Silver Tankard, in which he might drink to the downfall of Episcopacy. Nay, it is further certain, that even he himself has intimated, in another Production, that this very Sermon gave dissatisfaction to the King's Government.

But Dr. Gauden has complained of the iniquity of his Adversaries, that they should reproach him, "as if he were prodigal to *lie*, and feign in *so poor a concern* as this, the sitting in that Assembly." Let us now look, therefore, in quest of other, and higher game. I promised that we should return once more, to add a word or two, respecting *the Invective*. I promised to *finish* my argument, to be drawn from that Tract, of his not having written the *Icôn Basilikè*. The truth is, I cannot forbear having very serious suspicions that all is not right here.

I have before cited the account given by Gauden of this publication, in his second edition; and I confess I think that there are several things in that account, that seem exceedingly *strange*. It is *odd*, that he who boasts of having always stood in the gap, of having placed himself manfully in the post of danger, and who complains of others shrinking back, should have sent this important Piece, upon a venture to London, *incognito:* and *odd*, that his *just and generous loyalty*, should have been so easily thwarted and disappointed of its aims, (without a single word of resistance, or objection on his part), by the timidity,

or the bad faith of his Publisher. It is *odd*, that he should not have kept a copy; that so, in the event of any disappointment at the press, the good work might still take effect. He had been much wiser only a few weeks before, in the case of the *Icón*. One copy he had sent to the King: another he kept for himself: and even that he did not trust at the press, till he had transcribed it once at least; and, probably, a *second* time: for, when the copy and part of the proof sheets were seized, he returned again promptly to the work, and there was not a moment lost. It is a pity that this recent experience had not suggested the like fortunate precaution in the case of the Invective. Or, if it be said, that the fear of a discovery deterred him, on account of the iniquity of the times, it is *odd* that Dugard, whose hazard was infinitely greater, (both because Printers' Houses were the places most likely to be searched, and because *he* was lying under special suspicion, for having printed the *Icón*, the Pieces of Salmasius, and the like), should have harboured so dangerous a guest, not for a day or a month, but during a space of ten or eleven years. And it is *odd*, that in all those years, Gauden, who was not wanting in proper respect for his own performances, and was continually in London, should never have made enquiry, should have had no single word of correspondence or intercourse with Dugard, upon the subject, till after the Restoration.

But, as Gauden has informed us, there had been

an earlier edition of the Invective[z]. This had come out in 1660; and Gauden knew nothing of it, (for, it appeared under a different title) till he learnt the circumstance from Dugard, eighteen months after, in 1662. There are several things here also, that are observable for their strangeness. It may seem a little strange, that the publisher should have taken the liberty of altering the title of a work that had been entrusted to him: and that he should have ascribed to a "Person of Honor," that which was, in fact, the work of a "Divine." But it is more strange, considerably, that he should tell us, as he does in the Preface, he had received the Book out of Holland, ("it was sent over from the *Hague*, to be printed,") a place where it is certain Gauden was not, on the 10th of February. It is strange, again, that a Book should at that moment come out of Holland, into England, to be printed; such a Book, for the very purpose, as it were, of being thrust into the mouth of the Lion; when we know likewise that to Holland very many Royalist works were sent, in that season of extreme persecution, to be put to press there, as their best or only chance of ever reaching the hands of the People of England. But it is most strange of all, if this very Preface, from which we collect these strange particulars, and which is prefixed to this edition of which Dr. Gauden knew nothing, should be the work of Dr. Gauden himself. I con-

[z] Cromwell's *Bloody Slaughter-House: or, his Damnable Designs, laid and practised by him and his Negroes, in contriving the murther of his Sacred Majesty King Charles I. discovered:* by a Person of Honor. 12mo. 1660.

fess I have no authority for this suggestion, but the internal evidence. From that, however, from the nature of the style and expression, I have a strong persuasion that this was actually the case. Gauden's pen is very discernible: and I believe that to him we are indebted for that Preface [3]. If this be so, it will be a little remarkable again, that of all places in the world, mention should be made here of "the late King's incomparable Book, entitled Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ." But, to return to the edition of 1662.

In that publication, Dr. Gauden has favored us with "some other Pieces, born in the same storm, though in another stile and language," i. e. *in Latin*. I have a word or two to say respecting these.

One of the pieces, (they are all in verse), bears the title, "*Carolus Redux: sive Nemesis, ad Carolum Secundum:*" and it is subscribed at the end, "*Vovit I. G.* 1649." It is a prophecy and anticipation of the Restoration of that Monarch; but like other effusions of the kind, the suggestions of a lying spirit, I hesitate not to say, that it is a prophecy written after the event. I will subjoin the lines, that all may judge whether I am right or not in this verdict [4].

[3] In like manner, I am persuaded that the Preface (*The Publisher to the Reader,*) to another Tract, *The Petitionary Remonstrance presented to O. P. (Oliver Protector)*, Feb. 4. 1655, but not published till (1659-60) immediately before the Restoration—though professing not to be his, and extolling the Piece to which it is prefixed, was in truth the Performance of Gauden himself.

[4] Carole vindictam celera; ne perfidus Orbis
Esse Deum tam corde neget, quam pernegat actis:
Impia, quæ læti et ridentes facta tuentur
Prosperiora mali, falso dum lumine cernunt,
Crimina, mox viderint quum tristia, turpia credent.

And, if right, what are we to think of the *veracity* of Dr. Gauden?

But again. Another of these Prolusions is, "*In Martyrium Caroli Primi, Magnæ Britanniæ Regis invicti, Jan.* 30, 1648:" and this is subscribed, "*Flevit J. G.*." It contains a passage which refers to the *Icón Basilikè*, and refers to it, as the work of the King.

Aurea quæ pulchro pinxti dictamina Libro,
Unicus implésti vitæ moderamine; passus
Quas alii pingunt ærumnnas; ultima mortis
Humanam superant sortem miracula sancta.

. . . . . .

Carole, vindictam celera: Te mille ruinis
Pressa vocant tria Regna; uno Te vindice sperans
Sustentat miseris reliquam Patientia vitam.
Te Leges vocitant: Sancto Te murmure poscunt
Pectora, quæ tacitis miscent suspiria votis.

Carole, vindictam celera: Te justior ira
Flagitat, et Cœli, et Terræ: Te Gentis et Orbis
Vox properare jubet; multo Te mersa cruore
Et Patria, et Patris clamat Te sanguis inultus;
Perfida quem fudit truculentùm dextra Rebellum.

Carole, vindictam celera: victricibus armis
Ora petas exosa Deo: ceu fulmina ab alto
Omnipotens quando Numen librabat Olympo,
Usta Gygantæis cecidere cadavera flammis;
Et subitam et certam fundat tua dextra ruinam.

Carolus adventum celeres: non Phosphorus almæ
Nuncius Auroræ post noctem gratior atram;
Non requies fessis; calidis non umbra; minaci
Gurgite jactatis non portus; non sitienti
Rivus; certa salus non ægris; non morienti
Vita magis læta est, aut grata mente recepta,
Quam Tua solicitis aderit præsentia nobis.

Publica Vita, Salus, Requies, Lux (Unicus) adsis,
Numinis auxiliis fultus; Qui monstra domares,
Et fœdam lustres Gentem virtutibus Heros.
Fatidicùm vox est, Te majestate secundum,
Et cædem ulcisci, et regnum superare Parentis.

Vovit J. G. 1649.

Now, my Lord, what judgment can we form of moral entities such as this? I do not wish to be over-scrupulous. I do not pretend to say that Gauden might not fairly (even after the disclosure of the secret to Clarendon) elude the question or even speak of the work, as the performance of the king; if his opinion *were asked*, by persons who had no special right to be let into the secrets which were locked up in his breast. And in this view it is, that I lay no great stress upon what he is reported to have said, speaking of the book as the king's, among his clergy at Exeter, at his own table. But the case now before us, the *voluntary* publication of this poem, is quite a different matter. At this time he had already laid his formal claim before Lord Clarendon; and had written the principal part of those letters to the Earl of Bristol. Whatever stipulations, it may be pretended, that Clarendon would make with him for *secrecy* to the world: it is absolutely impossible that Clarendon should degrade Gauden, (or rather degrade himself), to the very dust, by asking for *positive* and *obtrusive* falsehoods. No: this was gratuitous and voluntary on the part of the bishop himself. And, to say the least of it, it denotes a propensity to be dabbling in falsehood, a proneness, for coming before the public with untruths in his mouth, that must greatly impair any little respect that we might still retain for Dr. Gauden. And as for any further uses, it would have a secret meaning to the Government, that he was ready to do anything *for* or *against* them, accordingly as his ambition should be gratified, or the contrary.

But to proceed to the Invective. My lord, I have a full persuasion, that this book too is an utter forgery. I mean, it was not written at the time (Feb. 1649), when Gauden *says* it was written; but ten or eleven years afterwards; at, or in immediate prospect of the Restoration; a very little while before its first publication in 1660: and I am persuaded further that the whole design of it was, like that of the claim upon the *Icôn*, nothing else but to recommend him for preferment to the new Government.

Although this conviction would be most satisfactorily received from the perusal of the Tract itself, yet, I am bound to produce a few passages, in some sort to substantiate this grave and extraordinary charge.

First, then, let us compare this book with the *Religious* and *Loyal Protestation;* and judge whether it be possible, that the two should proceed from the same hand, at the interval of only a month, one from the other.

We saw before[5], in what terms he addresses the *Army* in the Invective. Place by the side of *those* passages the following meek and respectful expressions, from the Protestation. Thus he begins his preface:

"Not any vanity or ostentation of bold and unreasonable freedoms, which are not worth the hazards they may contract, but only duty and integrity commanding me resolutely to look at God's glory, and the discharge of my own conscience both to God and man, hath made these ensuing papers become public, which I lately, with all humility and charity presented, by the hand of a Colonel, my worthy

[5] See p. 312.

friend, to his Excellency and the rest of the Council of War. Indeed I am persuaded that God requires and looks for, in the general overawings of men's spirits, who behold the army more with terror than with love and charity, which I do not, some men speedily to assert both his righteousness and their own uprightness."

At P. 4, he stiles them "gallant men," and professes, "to your souls, I owe and bear a great charity, next to the salvation of mine own."

The former of these two passages will serve likewise as a specimen of the manner in which, *in this tract*, he speaks of *Fairfax, the General*. But, in the Invective, scoffing at his piety, he stiles him, "that stupid saint; that dumb shew of your silent, extatic, seduced general[6]." And to Cromwell, if not to the two, he refers in the following complimentary terms: "In order to this truth-darkening and soul-damning design, we know you follow *your Leader, the Devil*, and *his Lieutenant-General* to the utter dissolving of all government, order and discipline[7]."

How, next, does he speak of the *Parliament?* Thus, in the *Protestation*:—"Its freedom you have so obstructed, that most of those Lords and Gentlemen, who are as much related to the King, and interested in the affairs of the kingdom as yourselves, are denied to use or enjoy it[8]." "What is past upon the House, can only have such a remedy and reparation as Providence shall see meet to grant[9]." He acquiesces, that is, with great apparent resignation, in the force that had been put upon them.

[6] P. 21.
[7] P. 30.
[8] P. 6.
[9] P. 3.

But thus, on the other hand, he speaks in the *Invective*. "The two Houses of Parliament, whose weakness, perverseness, unevenness, inconstancy, and cowardice God hath seen, disliked, judged and punished, you have forcibly invaded, scattered and oppressed, notwithstanding all your special engagements to them, both of duty and promise [1]." The party who remained he stiles, "those rotten and ever infamous Members of the Commons;" (P. 12.) "the lesser vermin and maggots of the Commons, who survive and crawl after the dissolution of the Parliament." (P. 21, 2.)

How, finally, does he speak of *the King?* Thus, in the *Invective:*

"The greatest glory, and most illustrious example of virtue and piety, that ever sate upon a Christian throne; the most unspotted person, the wisest Prince, the most charitable Christian, the most imitable pattern for moderation in prosperity, for patience in adversity, for devout humility toward God, for judicious zeal to true religion, for constant love to the Church, for winning majesty upon all men, that ever swayed the sceptre of this, or any other kingdom. .... This was the Man, this the Christian, this the King, this the Saint, this the Martyr, whom these Judases have betrayed, these Jews destroyed, these Canibals devoured [2]."

And thus, again, barely a month before, in the *Protestation.*

"For my own part, as I hope to have communion with God in Christ, I dare not have any fellowship with so foul a sin, as the killing of the King; but rather I ought to reprove it, and fairly contest against it. *Whatever his sin may be*, yet I think him not criminal, or obnoxious to any tribunal, but that of God [3]."—"When

[1] P. 7. [2] P. 34. [3] Preface.

God hath not given you either any Scriptural command, or any Magistratick power over, or against the King, you cannot but feel, I think, many checks and scruples, if not strict ties to the contrary upon you, as well as other subjects; *by no failings of the King*, or any earthly power to be dispensed with[4]."

But to proceed with my argument.

In the following passages circumstances are mentioned, in reference to Hugh Peters, (namely, that he had been one of the masked executioners of the King,) which had no foundation in truth; and the rumour of which, I feel a confident persuasion, had not been raised, so early as the 10th of February. They were suitable enough to the taste of the popular mind, in 1660.

"After this, without any remorse or pity to their and our King, to force a person of so excellent worth, wisdom, virtue, honor and majesty, to bow down at the feet of so vile persons, and then to chop off his head, which was sacred, crowned, and anointed, as rightful King over them, and all his subjects in his dominions; *a butchery so barbarous, that the common Headsman abhorred to do it*[5]."—"That power and influence which by their lies, sorceries and hypocrisies, they, with the help of that mongrel Minister, that military Priest, that modern Simon Magus, that *disguised executioner*, that bloody butcher of the King, H——— P———, they have gained upon the common soldiery[6]."

Again. There are passages, in which to my apprehension, the fact of a *subsequent* forgery is betrayed, by the solicitude to hide the fraud. Who, for instance, writing on the 10th of February, with his mind full of the recent tragedy, could have expressed himself as follows?

[4] P. 7. [5] P. 10. [6] P. 12.

"The true *Agreement of the People*, a hundred voices to one, is this, to shake off your cruel tyranny, to *bring to condign punishment* such unheard-of Traitors;" (this, I doubt not, was written at, or in the immediate contemplation of the Trials of the Regicides in 1660,) "and to invest in his throne our lawful King Charles the Second, the *eldest* Son of that good King you *lately* murthered. But, how can the people of England ever hope to have any other civil agreement binding to you and your pragmatic faction, further than your own fancies, lusts and pleasures think fit; since they find you to have so *lately* broken through all laws of God and man[7]."

This whole passage is redolent of the Restoration, and of nothing but the Restoration: but my special remark upon it, at present, is this: that no man could have used the words "*lately* murthered," and "*lately broken through*," on the 10th of February. The same observation I would apply to a similar passage afterwards.

"We cannot but send the divided parts of our dead, but endeared King, now a glorious saint, (whom these men have with subtilty and cruelty *lately* murthered,) to all the tribes of this our Israel[8]."

To write this word "lately," on the 10th of February, implies a degree of *Bathos*, of which I do not think, even Gauden was capable.

I shall advert only to one topic more: the manner in which, in the *Invective*, the writer has spoken of King Charles the Second:

"According to the heaped and over-running measure of their open sins, and abominable villainies, so let every good man, that fears God, knows the memory and virtues of so good a King, loves his country, will keep a good conscience, and desires to save his

[7] P. 23. [8] P. 37.

own soul, not only withdraw all voluntary assistance from them, lest they seem approvers of their wicked deeds, and be partakers of their guilt and judgments; but *heartily pray, and constantly endeavour the restoring of the crowns and kingdoms, to the only lawful heir, the late King's eldest Son, upon whom are many happy presages, and great expectations of glorious achievements; whom God hath in mercy, we hope, to these Churches and Kingdoms, preserved out of the hands of these bloody villains, who declared, in their devilish remonstrance, their purpose to destroy him, with his brother the Duke of York, and mingle their tender bloods with that of their Father: whom, special Providence hath prepared for great and excellent designs, by the maturity of his years, by the procerity of his person, by the gallantry of his spirit, by the excellency of his understanding, by the gravity of his manners, and severity of his example, far beyond what is wonted or expected in young men, or young princes, in point of piety and virtue.*

"This is that person, this is that Prince, worthy of his high descent, worthy of such a Father, whose worth already promises to exceed all you can desire, or hope for, from a good and gracious King. Upon him, God, and our laws, and our oaths, command all loyal and religious subjects to fix their eyes; to unite their hearts and hands, to the love and assistance of him; to expiate the sin and shame of their former errors and defaults, which have *produced* such sad and abhorred effects; to break the strength, to extirpate the persons, to oppose the designs, and to revenge the villainies, which have been with an high hand, committed against God, the King, the Parliament, the laws, and the kingdoms, by these miscreants, men always of desperate fortunes, but now of so desperate minds and manners, that all their paths lead to the chambers of death, and their steps are descending to the pit of hell[9]."

I think, my Lord, such passages as this, are abundantly sufficient of themselves. They could not be written at the time pretended. They are nothing but flattering effusions, dictated by the Resto-

[9] P. 37.

ration.—But, if further proofs be required, let us take an example or two of real descriptions of the circumstances and condition of the young Prince, at this same moment, to set by the side of this forged, this false and fictitious one.

First, we are to believe, that the same person, who endited what we have just *read*, wrote, perhaps a fortnight or three weeks before, the whole of Chapter 27[1], and therewith wrote the following passage, in the *Icón Basilikè*.

"A principal point of your honour will consist in your conferring all respect, love, and protection on your mother, my wife; who hath many ways deserved well of me, and chiefly in this, that, (having been a means to bless me with so many hopeful children, all which, with their mother, I recommend to your love and care,) she hath been content, with incomparable magnanimity and patience, to suffer both *for*, and *with*, me and you[2]."

Next: let us hear Lord Capel's words, from the scaffold, a short month after the 10th of February.

"And now, gentlemen, we have had an occasion, by this intimation, to remember his Majesty our King, that last was. And, I cannot speak of him, nor think of it, but truly I must needs say, That in my opinion, that have had time to consider all the images of all the greatest and virtuousest Princes in the world, and truly, in my opinion, there was not a more virtuous, and more sufficient Prince, known in the world, than our gracious King Charles, that died last. God Almighty preserve our King that now is, his Son!

[1] Perhaps it is worth remarking, that Mrs. Gauden, when she speaks of the additions which were made when the book was in the press, makes no mention of this chapter: and yet it must have been one of the *last* written. Had she any lurking apprehensions, that Charles the Second might perhaps have a copy of this, separately sent to him by his father, in the shape of a letter, (*To the Prince of Wales,*) and, therefore, that perhaps the less that was said about this chapter the better?

[2] Chap. xxvii.

God send him more fortunate, and longer days! God Almighty so assist him, that he may exceed both the virtues and sufficiencies of his Father! For certainly, I that have been a councillor to him, and have lived long with him, and in a time when discovery is easily made, for he was young, (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen years of age,) those years I was with him," (This was in the West. He was now in his nineteenth year.) " truly I never saw greater hope of virtue in any young person, than in him: great judgment, great understanding, great apprehension, much honor, in his nature; and truly, a very perfect Englishman in his inclination. And I pray God restore him to this kingdom, and unite the kingdoms one unto another, and send a great happiness both to you and to him: that he may long live, and reign among you, and that that family may reign, till *Thy kingdom come;* that is, while all temporal power is consummated! I beseech God of his mercy give much happiness to this your King, and to you that in it shall be his subjects, by the grace of Jesus Christ."

We may seal the whole, by a descriptive passage from Lord Clarendon, of the Prince's condition a very few months before his father's murder.

" During all this time, the Prince remained at Paris, under the government of his mother, exercised with that strictness, that though his Highness was above the age of seventeen years, it was not desired that he should meddle in any business, or be sensible of the unhappy condition the Royal Family was in. The assignation which was made by the Court of France, for the better support of the Prince, was annexed to the monthly allowance given to the Queen, and received by her, and distributed as she thought fit; such clothes and other necessaries provided for his Highness, as were thought convenient; her Majesty desiring to have it thought that the Prince lived entirely upon her; and that it would not consist with the dignity of the Prince of Wales, to be a pensioner to the King of France. Hereby none of his Highness's servants had any pretence to ask money, but they were to be contented with what should be allowed to them; which was dispensed with a very spar-

ing hand; nor was the Prince himself ever master of ten pistoles to dispose as he desired[3]."

I think, my Lord, that the point is sufficiently proved, The Invective is a *subsequent forgery*. It was written and first published about the time, and for the same purpose, that the claim was to be made upon the *Icón*. And, it was afterwards republished, with the author's name, at the very height of the crisis of those private struggles with Lord Clarendon: that, if by any mischance, the demand upon the *Icón* should not suffice, yet, with this additional recommendation, he might be irresistible.

Now, if this be so, if we have established these points—the first resulting observation, in one word, is this.—How is it possible, that he, whose multifarious falsehoods and forgeries are all so easily detected, in his own case,—he, who has so totally failed, both in regard to the *moral* and *secular* results, intended to be produced by all his devices, in behalf of himself—could invent a whole book, such as the *Icón*, considered in itself, and in all its attendant circumstances; not only exciting, *a priori*, no suspicion whatever, except such idle pretences, as arise from its very perfection and beauty; but such a book as that, even after another man's claim is known to have been made to it, no one ever has pointed out, or can point out, any one sentence or word, tending in the slightest degree to substantiate or warrant the claim? In my apprehension, I hesitate not to say, the thing is utterly incredible. *Icón Basilikè*, a Book, successful in all its purposes, had no such author as Gauden.

[3] Book X. at the close.

But further: and to another effect and purport. After what we have seen of the nature and tenor of Gauden's *moral* character: after the specimens which we have had before us of his proceedings, say merely, in the affair of the Assembly of Divines, and the Invective, how is it possible to give him credit for veracity, in the matter of the *Icón?* Have we not found an almost entire absence of all semblance of evidence of every kind, except his own bare word; and an incalculable extent and power of every species of evidence, on the other side? Have we not met with nothing but suspicious circumstances, on the side of Gauden? And now, lastly, have we not discovered, that in similar cases of self-interest, or rather, in different parts of the very same transaction, he stands repeatedly convicted of falsehood and forgery, and of every foul passion? How, therefore, can it be, but that we must be compelled at last to resort to that only supposition, which will easily and at once solve all the questionable phænomena; viz. that the claim itself is like the corrupted fountain from which it flowed; and, like all the other attendant circumstances and proceedings, foul, false and fictitious?

I tremble, my Lord, at the conclusion at which I am arrived. Alas! the case is but too clear. Gauden was tempted and fell. Transported by the furious passions of pride, envy, avarice and ambition, he had lost all moral self-possession, and self-control. He was, *indeed*, that which before (p. 43, 44.) I threw out, as an *incredible supposition*. He was

morally and intellectually deranged: and having risen by degrees from one effort to another, he would desperately hazard all, and seize the objects of his ambition, or die in the attempt. And die, alas! he did.

We are led to contemplate Gauden in one situation more, in which we would be glad to believe, that our evidence and convictions against him might not be true.

It is a most striking example of the vanity of all earthly desires, to know that four short months had not elapsed, after his translation to Worcester, before Gauden was dead[4]. In the midst of his malady he made an attempt to write to the Earl of Bristol, but the agony of his pains forbade. Gladly I would hope, that when he called for the pen and paper, it was in penitence and compunction for what he had done. But his pain forbade, and he died, so far as we know, without making any confession or reparation to man. Fervently I would hope, that before the shadows of the night closed around him, his soul had communion with God; and that the deep groans of an agonized and contrite spirit, were heard, and have been registered in heaven!

> *"Close up his eyes, and draw the curtain close;*
> *And let us all to meditation."*

Here then, my Lord, we have at length attained the only remaining particular, which could be said to be wanting to the entire completeness of our argument. We saw abundantly how *little* evidence

[4] Aged 57.

there is, or rather that there is *no* evidence at all, independently of Gauden himself: and we have now seen, (upon reasons, few or none of which were known to Lord Clarendon,) at how very low a rate, in such circumstances, that self can be accounted. Hence, along with Gauden, the value of Clarendon's silence, and of the testimony of the Royal Brothers, which apparently had no other foundation but an undue respect for Gauden's veracity, falls to the ground. The *direct evidence* for Charles, in itself irreproachable and every way satisfactory, asserts now an *undisputed* claim to our acceptance; and conviction must ensue. Lastly, the *internal evidence* for Gauden is absolutely nothing; that for Charles is boundless and innumerable, and all that possibly could be imagined or desired.

Thus, we have reached the conclusion. Once more every thing is restored to its place. The value of the Lambeth, and of the Clarendon Letters, is understood. By every conceivable argument, Charles is proved to have been the author of the *Icôn Basilikè*, and Gauden's claim is, in every part, foul, false and fictitious.

Such is our conclusion. And for this alone am I desirous of contending. Still, my Lord, I think I discern circumstances, which might, possibly, present themselves to Gauden's mind, as giving plausibility and consistency to his claim. If this were so; if external circumstances co-operated with his internal evil passions, we may wonder something the less at his monstrous temptation and fall.

My theory, then, (I give it as nothing more,) would exhibit some such features as the following:—

The King pleased with Symmons's *Vindication*[5], and setting a high value on his known fidelity, resolves to confide to him the superintendance of the printing the *Icón Basilikè*[6]. Perhaps, he goes a little further. Perhaps, he directs him to revise the copy for the press; to attend to the adjustment of the paragraphs; to the punctuation and orthography; to the insertion of the additions and corrections, in their proper places; and, especially, to prepare appropriate titles for the chapters; which, perhaps are, in some cases, different from what would have been prefixed by the King's own hand[7]. With a commission like this, the necessity would probably be superinduced upon Symmons of making a transcript of the whole. At this time the Essex rising takes place, and terminates in the siege and capture of Colchester. Symmons, I would conjecture, was called into that neighbourhood, partly by his zeal for the cause, and as possessing influence there, from his former residence in that county; and

[5] *A Vindication of King Charles: or a Loyal Subject's Duty.* 4to. 1648.

[6] "Mr. Symmons affirmed to the said Mr. Dugard, and Mr. Hooker, that the copy was written with the King's own hand, and delivered to Mr. Symmons by the King himself, who took it from under his blue watchet waistcoat," &c. Wagstaffe's *Vindication.* P. 107.

[7] "And because, I know, he has desired your assistance therein, I pray you to take care to point them well; and be sure to put the interlinings in the right places." Wagstaffe's *Vindication.* P. 102. See before, P. 123. The date of the letter is August 31, 1648.

partly, that he might attend the motions and wishes, of his excellent patron, Lord Capel. The Earl of Holland, taking the lead in similar proceedings in the county of Surrey, had an interest in the fate of this Essex rising: and we have seen that the Earl of Warwick began to be discontented with the proceedings of the Army and the Parliament, and would have saved the life of the King.

These were circumstances, which would lead Gauden, then at Bocking, to partake in these affections of his patron, and his patron's brother. It was at this time, therefore, I would conjecture, that Symmons and Gauden had intercourse, (as we know that Symmons, and Gauden's friend, Walker had [s], immediately after, while the book was at the press.) During this intercourse, Symmons tells Gauden of *Icón Basilikè;* and shews him the copy, which he had revised and prepared for the press; and, at his request, (or, perhaps, for security, at some anxious moment about the affairs of Colchester,) lodges the manuscript, for a few days, in Gauden's hands at Bocking; who takes that opportunity of transcribing it, agreeably to the account of Allen his servant. Symmons having so far executed his charge, and knowing himself to be a suspected person, and narrowly watched by spies, applies to Dr. Gauden, (lying under no suspicion,) to assist him, in transmitting the book to the Isle of Wight, for the King's approbation of his revisal, previously to its being sub-

[s] Walker's *True Account.* P. 30.

mitted to the press[9]. For this purpose Gauden repairs to the Marquess of Hertford, to whom he was known (for, the Marquess's intercession induced Laud to collate Gauden to Bocking,) and to Bishop Duppa, both at that time summoned to attend the King at the Newport treaty. Gauden having seen this book, (for he had transcribed it,) commends it largely to the Marquess, and urges its speedy publication, as likely to have a favorable influence upon the public mind, as respected the King's character, and perhaps even his life[1]. They carry the book accordingly, (both the King's own copy, and Symmons's,) and the King examining it with Duppa, and looking the whole over, during the treaty, approves of what Symmons had done, and sends back the book, to Symmons, and to Royston, by the same Lord Hertford and Bishop Duppa, when they left the Isle of Wight, at the close of the treaty.

This, then, I apprehend, is all that Gauden ever had to do, with the *Icón Basilikè*. Unless, perhaps, (being a notable person for pictures and frontispieces,) he *might* be consulted by Symmons about

9 "Now the instrument which my husband employed to get it printed, was one Mr. Symmons, a Divine, and a great sufferer for his Majesty." Mrs. Gauden's *Narrative*.

1 "Immediately after this there was a treaty with his Majesty at the Isle of Wight, whereupon my husband went to my Lord Marquess of Hertford that then was, and to him delivered the manuscript, and he delivered it to the King..... That his Majesty having had some of those Essays read to him by Bishop Duppa, did exceedingly approve of them.....My husband told my Lord Marquess, that, in his opinion there was no way so probable to save his Majesty's life, as by endeavouring to move the hearts and affections of the people as much *as* might be towards him: and that he also thought that that book would be very effectual for that purpose." Mrs. Gauden's *Narrative*.

the design of the drawing, or the execution of the engraving, which was to be prefixed; and hence what Walker told, that he delivered "part of the papers, *particularly the Picture*, sealed up to one Peacock: and that these were put up in a trunk, between the Lady Warwick's points." Also it would, probably, be through Gauden's means, that Walker was induced to give the assistance which he did to Symmons, in his dangerous and difficult work of carrying the royal volume through the press.

After these particulars, a long interval of many years takes place; and Gauden thinks no more of the *Icôn Basilikè*.

But, the Restoration begins to draw nigh. His mind, therefore, now recurs to the thought of King Charles, and of the Royal Volume: Still, with no other notion or word but that it was the work of the King. Thus he speaks of it, in 1660, in the Preface to "*Cromwell's Bloody Slaughter-House*;" for, even at that time, so late as June or July, I *believe* him not yet to have conceived the thought of laying claim to the *Icôn*. He writes a variety of Pieces to recommend himself to the new government; and reprints his *Loyal and Religious Protestation*, and is appointed Bishop of Exeter. But this elevation by no means keeps pace with his impatient desires. He magnifies himself; he envies and reviles those who are likely to stand in his way. Nothing is too big for him, that will fit another man. He loses no time in plying Lord Clarendon for further advancement. He cajoles, he pleads, he threatens, he flatters. Still

Clarendon is sullen and silent; and Gauden is uncertain how far he shall prevail. He begins now to give dark hints of some secret and extraordinary service. Gauden, we must remember, had lived most among persons, who thought meanly of the King. Hence, probably, from the first, he might have doubted, whether the King had abilities: and certainly he doubted, whether he had had leisure, or privacy, to write the *Icón Basilikè;* or, to write *the whole.* The copy which Gauden had seen and transcribed, perhaps was in Symmons's hand-writing. Very possibly he might have heard, that in fact, the Book had been attributed to Symmons[2]; and he might believe that it was rightly so attributed; or, that he had had a large share in it. Having known by how few persons the secrets of the publication had been transacted, he next calls to mind how opportunely Symmons had died, (just two months after the King); and how much of the evidence must necessarily have died with him. He might well step in therefore to lay claim to *all* that Symmons had done, whatever that might have been. He had his own transcript to shew; and who that was now alive could exhibit so good a title? He remembered, that a controversy had been maintained, soon after

[2] "Not long after her said husband Mr. Symmons died: and some time after her husband's death, this said Mrs. Symmons was invited to dine with one Mr. Robinson behind the Royal Exchange; who after dinner took her aside and desired her to deal truly and freely with him, in a matter that he had to propound to her; which was about the Author of *Icón Basilikè*. To whom she replied, that it was in truth the King's. He further requested of her to tell him, if *it was not her husband's*, adding, withal, that *it would be for her advantage* to speak the truth. Whereto she again answered, that *it was not her husband's* but the King's; and her husband was only employed to get it printed." Wagstaffe's *Defence of his Vindication*, p. 90—91. This is the widow's testimony, subscribed by her own hand, in the presence of witnesses.

the publication, and several Books written professedly, to prove that the work was not the King's. The pamphlets on the other side, it may be presumed, he had never seen: for, being proscribed, they got into very few hands: and such copies as are known to be extant now, were probably such as having been secreted, at the time, by a few Royalists and exiles, re-appeared only after the Restoration. He recalled to mind, the undoubted fact of his having printed a tract of his own, at the very same moment the *Icón* was printing, and at the same publisher's. This was lucky: for, it would shew a connexion with Royston: and the interchange of Letters and Manuscript (which respected the *Loyal Protestation*) might serve very well to pass off upon Walker and others, as belonging to the *Icón*.

While his mind was revolving these matters, a very remarkable circumstance recurred to his recollection, which had taken place immediately before [3], at a conference of Bishops and Divines, at which the King and Clarendon, and Morley, as well as himself, were present. Dr. Reynolds, (one of the non-conforming Ministers), quotes *Icón Basilikè*, and presses it upon the King, as the solemn sentiments of his dying Father. "O! (says Charles) all that is in that Book, is not gospel." Surely, thinks Gauden (reflecting upon the words) more was meant there than meets the ear. He thinks, (and thus Bishop Kennett, we saw, thought), that the King's words, at the least, must "imply interpolations and additions

[3] See above, p. 149

made to it." The King himself then knows, or suspects, that the work, in whole, or in part, was not his Father's. That is, he entertains the same real judgment respecting the Book, as does Dr. Gauden. Now, Symmons, the Author or Interpolator, is out of the way. Surely, this is an opportunity, (as Mrs. Gauden expresses it) of "making his fortune" for ever. Happily, too, Clarendon had heard these words of the King, and so did Morley, as well as Gauden. And, what is more, probably Gauden thinks the King would never have made use of them, relying, as he then did, upon Clarendon in every thing, if they had not expressed the Chancellor's sentiments as well as his own. But again: most opportunely, the Marquess of Hertford also dies, (Oct. 24, 1660) two days after those important words escaped from the lips of the King. He too, therefore, is safe: and may confidently be appealed to, for the interviews which had passed between them; and the service of carrying down the Manuscript, (which indeed he did carry down; the only difference was, that it was the King's, and not Gauden's) to the Isle of Wight treaty.

To be sure, the copy which had been in Gauden's family, and which was shewn to Walker, (being derived from Symmons's copy) had for its title *Suspiria Regalia;* while the Book that came out was inscribed *Icôn Basilikè.* But this was easy to be accounted for. He had altered the title, while the Book was at the Press[4], which alteration indeed did take place;

[4] "My husband did then alter the title of it; and called it *Icôn Basilikè.*" Mrs. Gauden's *Narrative.*

but it was done by the order of the King; and the suggestion of Dr. Jeremy Taylor, not Dr. Gauden.

In appealing to Duppa, he probably thought, (if his furious passions permitted him to think at all), he probably thought only, that Duppa believed as he himself did: and as he had now persuaded himself, that the King and Clarendon, and Morley, Clarendon's friend did. Besides, the part he had assigned to Duppa was a less important one: and, if Clarendon should make enquiry, perhaps what he had said might without much difficulty be explained away. And Duppa too was ill, and old. And, (which strengthened his hands very much) Clarendon would be tremblingly fearful of discussion and controversy: for, it was impossible that his old master could come out of this dispute with gain; since all now believed, or professed to believe publicly, that the work was the King's. And what! though he is claiming that which he and they *equally* know, belongs really to another (Symmons)? For his present uses, this will serve equally well. They dare not oppose him by the name of Symmons; for that will be a confession that the Book was not the King's.

When afterwards Clarendon appeared to have made no enquiry, and Duppa now was dead also; there was less danger in the repetition of Gauden's pretensions; and in his imparting the same secret, still for the same purposes, to the Earl of Bristol.

If, after all, the notion still clings to us, that it is incredible, that any man should have had the *folly*, (not to say the *wickedness*) to make this claim, unless it were true: I would ask, "What wonder that such

should be our judgment and our feelings? In any other man but a Gauden, or a Lauder, the thing, after all, would be almost incredible." Such men, however, occasionally do live; and it was Gauden's *habit* to do *incredible* things. In *his* case, without considering all the other circumstances, without dwelling upon the timeliness and the plausibility of the temptation, is not this naked, abstract incredibility, hardly a whit more strange, than those his bold appeals, so easy to be confuted, about his Cambridgeshire and Essex preferments, in the question of his nomination to the Assembly of Divines; than that his reference to a Sermon for doctrines which the Sermon does not contain; and, than his palpable and bungling forgery of the Invective? Alas! is it not too apparent that Gauden was a man ready for any blind and desperate and incredible enterprise, when his own interest was at stake? Yes, my Lord, we return to our Conclusion. By every conceivable argument, the King was the Author of *Icón Basilikè*: and Gauden's claim is utterly groundless and false.

Our disquisition has extended to a much greater length than I had anticipated. But, if it shall be thought, that I have succeeded in establishing my conclusions, I shall not regret the time bestowed, nor will my labour have been in vain!

Even, if we have done nothing more, this gain, at least, must be allowed us. Charles is free: and his Counsellors and Divines are free likewise. The King was innocent; and his Counsellors, his Bishops, and the rest of the world, guiltless themselves, were the

unconscious dupes of Dr. Gauden: a condition, better at least, than that so many great, and so many good men, should be partners and accomplices in fraud and forgery.

But, if it shall be thought that I have succeeded in establishing the main conclusion for which I have contended, then indeed I shall not regret the time bestowed; nor will my labour have been in vain.

For, thus again, Truth once more emerges from the clouds by which she has been darkened; and is seen linked in happy union with piety and royalty, and loyalty.

Faction and profaneness are found to lie here under a curse, as elsewhere. They are seen to have cherished and loved a lie: and to have chosen, and to have taken pleasure in chusing its sordid and selfish author, in preference to the meek, pious, and virtuous Charles!

I have further rejoiced, in the opportunities which have been naturally afforded me, of doing some little justice to a portion of the character of that Monarch. For, without being led into any direct discussion, much less any vindication of the public measures of his reign, I have seen enough of the real character of that Prince, both public and private, to convince me that it had virtues, in both respects, much too precious, and too much needed for the moral improvement, the admonition and the edification of his People, and Us, their posterity, that we should supinely suffer their memory to be buried, as it too much has been, under a load of indiscriminate reviling and obloquy.

I shall further rejoice, if the result of my endeavours may be, in any degree, to restore a most precious book, an invaluable legacy to the English people, to that place in their affections which it deserves; and those uses of instruction and piety, to which it is admirably calculated to administer: uses, that have been lamentably impaired and lost, through the baneful suspicion of forgery under which the volume has laboured.

Finally: it is not in vain, that Gauden has been detected more completely than ever before; and this, in no small part, even by help of those very evidences, which some have received with complacency, or with triumph, as being fatal to the claim of the King. For, thus it is seen, though late, that Justice, eternal Justice, does not slumber: but, even in this life, continues, from time to time, to be manifested, for the instruction and the warning of his creatures, under the Providence of the Great Judge of all the earth.

I have the honor to be,

My Lord,

Your Grace's

Most obedient and most humble Servant,

CHR. WORDSWORTH.

Trinity College, Cambridge,
October 31st, 1824.

ERRATA.

P. viii. (Table of Contents) line 6, *for* P. 227-236, *read* P. 227-256.
— 15, line 2, *for* see *read* sees.
— 69, line 25, *for* this *read* the.
— 112, line 12, *for* up *read* down.
— 167, line 28, *omit* Sheldon. See p. 205.
— —, line 30, *read* acquaintances.
— 174, line 5. *for Posset, Italic read* Posset, *Roman.*
— 194, line 9, *for* incontestible *read* incontestable.
— 225, last line, *after* above, *add* p. 146.
— 282, line 13, *after* his *add* own.
— 300, line 19, *for* there *read* these.
— 304, line 30, *for* rather *read* very.
— 353, the paragraph beginning "Gauden, to be sure," is misplaced: it ought to follow after line 16, "Mr. Laing and others."
— 379, line 27, *for* Threnoidies *read* Threnodies.